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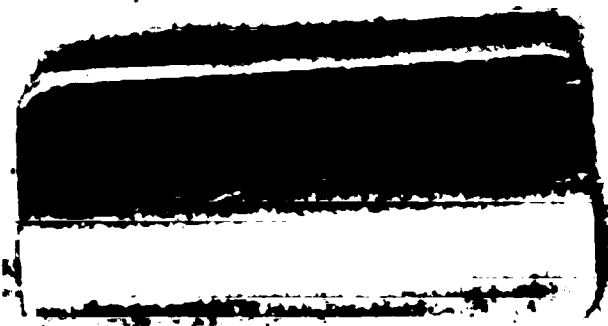
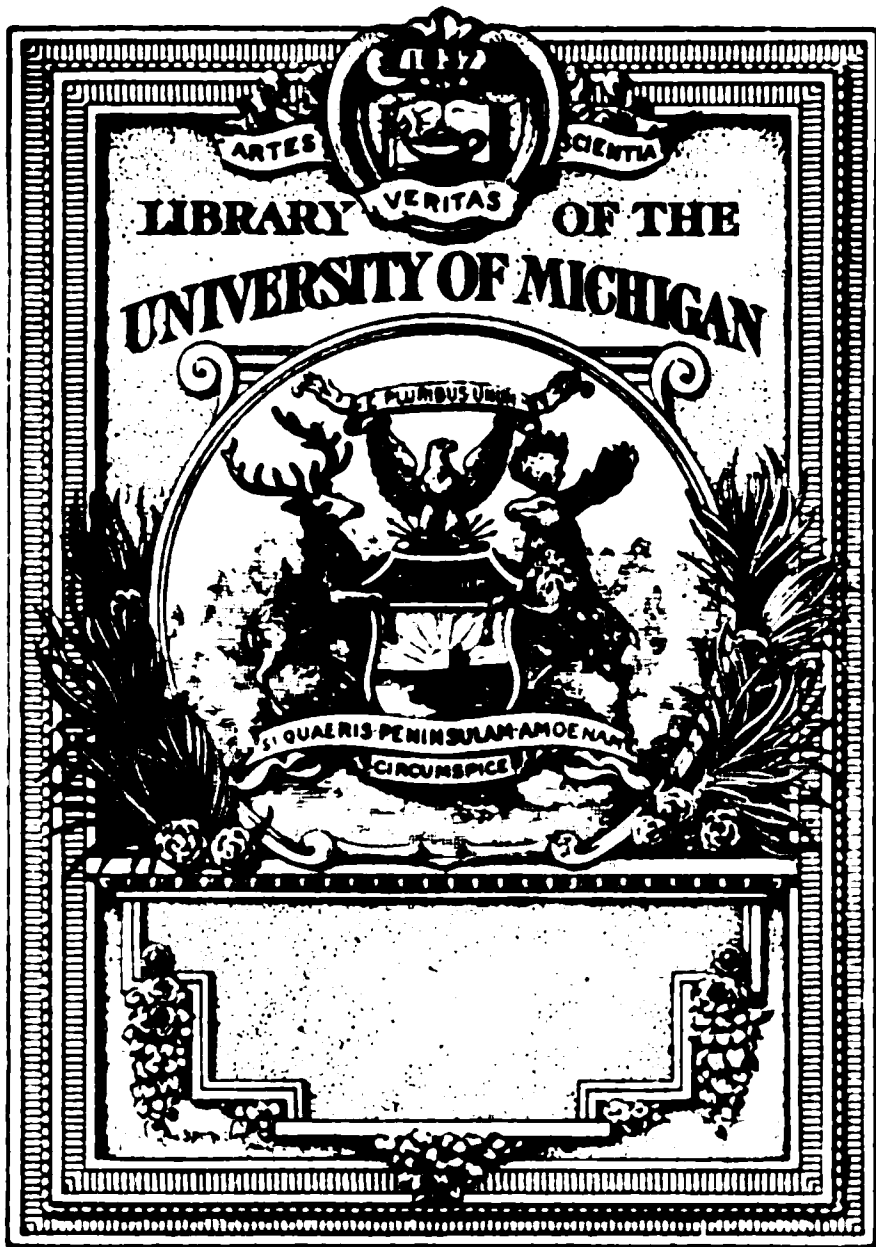
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The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation.

By Albrecht Ritschl, the Positive Development of the Doctrine. English Translation. Edited by H. R. Mackintosh, D. Phil., Tayport, and A. B. Macaulay, M.A., Forfar. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Pp. 670. Price 14s.

AT last there is provided what has been a desideratum for years—a really reliable translation of the great dogmatic work on *Justification* by which the most noted of modern theologians chiefly made his mark on the thinking of his age. “Ritschl” and “Anti-Ritschl” have been long bandied about as watch-words of controversy, but the English reader has hitherto had a difficulty in getting to close quarters with the man whose thoughts have been the occasion of so much stir. “Ritschlian Theology” is a term made to cover a great deal more than Ritschl’s own contributions to theological system; yet, while books like Kaftan’s *Truth of the Christian Religion*, Herrmann’s *Communion with God*, Harnack’s *History of Dogma*, supposed to represent Ritschlianism, have been translated, there has always been a shrinking—due, it may be presumed, to the ponderous and involved nature of Ritschl’s style—from grappling with the master himself. The courageous translators who undertook the task of rendering Ritschl’s dogmatic tome into lucid and readable English were certainly not to be envied in their work. It is all the more to their credit that the difficulties of their enterprise have been so successfully overcome, and that we are at length in possession of a translation which, in point of accuracy, clearness, and frequently even felicity of expression, is nearly all that the most exacting could desire.

Of the *collaborateurs* in the translation the main responsibility has lain with the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh, of Tayport, to

whom also the greatest individual share in the work belongs. The freshness and intelligence of Dr. Mackintosh's part of the translation speaks not only to his mastery of the language, and happy faculty of conveying its meaning in nervous and idiomatic English, but to his grasp also of Ritschl's ideas and general scheme of thought, without which the most skilled of translators must often feel himself fumbling in the dark. It is a guarantee of the excellence of the work as a whole that Dr. Mackintosh declares himself in every case responsible for the rendering finally adopted. His coadjutors, however, the Rev. A. B. Macaulay, M.A., of Forfar, the Rev. A. R. Gordon, M.A., of Monikie, the Rev. R. A. Lendrum, M.A., of Kirkliston, and the Rev. James Strachan, M.A., of St. Fergus, show by their independent work that they need commendation from no man. The distribution of chapters seems to have been skilfully made, and the translation generally reaches a high level of excellence. The English reader, therefore, may rest satisfied that he has in this volume a faithful reproduction of Ritschl's principal work; and that, in founding on it, he is in practically as good a position for judging of the system as those who have access to the original. In some respects he is even more favourably situated, for, in reading so extensive and cumbrous a book, one may catch points in English which are apt to be overlooked in exploring at first hand the dense jungles of the German.

The translators are specially to be congratulated on the way in which they have often succeeded in disentangling Ritschl's intricate and lumbering paragraphs, and brought daylight into statements disconcerting in their obscurity. If, in spite of all, the translation is heavy to read, if one often feels as if wandering in a mist, or tends to lose patience with iterations and circumlocutions that might easily, one may think, have been avoided or curtailed, this is to be laid at the door, not of the translators, but of the author. For this is Ritschl's greatest defect in method—his mind works with large, vague, looming conceptions, which it is difficult ever to reduce to precise or consistent expression—which he

is constantly going round and round, and stating in new and varying forms, while his course of exposition obeys no recognisable law, but is marked by the most provoking desultoriness and repetition. If one pictures the task of hewing a path through a forest with a dash of fog thrown in, he will not have a very inaccurate idea of what working through these chapters of Ritschl's means. On the other hand, to avoid a false impression, let it be said that the reader who perseveres will soon begin to realise that it is a remarkably powerful, original and penetrative mind that is working behind all this apparent vagueness. He will feel growing up in his apprehension a sense of unity of another kind, of a range and concatenation of ideas that hold together in an original combination from their author's point of view. He will discover that he is moving in a world of thought different from that to which he is accustomed, and that there is gradually shaping itself in his consciousness a knowledge of what really constitutes the inwardness of Ritschlianism. Even where he disagrees, he will be compelled to acknowledge that it is always the deepest questions that are being raised, and that the criticism of current conceptions is of the most searching kind. This might *a priori* be expected in view of what Ritschl's influence has actually been.

In a translation to which such praise is given it may seem invidious to point out minor blemishes and defects. These in any case are not numerous, and no one who has ever tried to put Ritschl into English for himself will be disposed to make much of faults or slips of others. Misprints, so far as we have observed, are rare in the volume. "Primitive" for "punitive" (p. 255), and "alternitatis" for "æternitatis" (p. 325) are examples. For the rest, sometimes a choice of renderings may be a matter of taste; sometimes it may depend on difference of understanding of the author's meaning. But there remain instances—happily none of them serious—in which the point, if not missed, appears at least blunted, or is not made perfectly clear by the translation. In the definition of Christianity, *e.g.*, it would have been

better, we think, if, instead of co-ordinating the clauses, "involves the impulse to conduct from the motive of love, aims at the moral organisation of mankind" (p. 13), Ritschl's form of statement had been adhered to: "involves the impulse to conduct . . . which aims at the moral organisation of mankind" (das auf die sittliche Organisation der Menschheit gerichtet ist). Distinguishing between "concomitant" and "independent" judgments of value, Ritschl says, on p. 205: "But all perceptions of moral ends or moral hindrances, in so far as they excite moral pleasure and pain . . . are *independent* value-judgments," adding a sentence or two further down: "Religious knowledge forms another class of independent value-judgments". The translation unfortunately transposes subject and predicate in the former sentence to the obscuring of the sense—"But *independent* value-judgments are all perceptions of moral ends," etc. The soul's "self-existence" is hardly the best equivalent for "Existenz an sich" and "Ansich der Seele" (pp. 20, 21). "Self-existence" has the suggestion of *causa sui*. Perhaps, on p. 25, "generally" would be better than "universally" in the sentence "the Christian ideal of life, and no other, satisfies the claims of the human spirit to knowledge of things universally". Ritschl does not mean that the Christian ideal confers omniscience, but that it accords with the demand for a satisfying general view of things. On p. 28 we read: "From the social character of religion we can gather that, in a complete view of it, its relation to the world must necessarily be included". Ritschl, however, is not thinking of a complete view of religion, but of the complete view of things (Gesammtanschauung) which religion leads us to form, in which he says a relation to the world is necessarily included. In the same context (p. 29) is not "professes to possess" for "zu besitzen verspricht" a little aside from Ritschl's idea, which tallies rather with such a usage as the day "promises" well? The point of view is the subjective. Man is sustained by such a view of God as awakens the confidence that he possesses, etc. In describing justification (p. 38), religious "peculiarity" or "character-

istic," might be better than "character," which is apt to suggest the idea of moral renovation Ritschl wishes to avoid. As a statement of Tieftrunk's view, the sentence "not merely as a result of the law" (p. 93) should surely rather be "not merely for the sake of the law" (nicht bloss um des Gesetzes willen). In this connection "reconcilability" (Versöhnlichkeit) and "irreconcilability" (Unversöhnlichkeit) do not convey quite a clear idea in such a sentence as "the second (pre-requisite) when reconcilability becomes a commandment of outstanding importance in the law, and when irreconcilability, conceived as the law of a moral kingdom, would be self-contradictory" (p. 93). It is the element of placability (reconcilableness) and implacability in God which is in view, and the meaning is (expounding Tieftrunk) that placability in God is an obligatory demand or prescription of the moral law (eine hervorragende Pflichtvorschrift im Gesetze), and that the opposite supposition would be self-contradictory. On p. 86, "to estimate the characteristic note of faith which is to be found in the objects of justification along with, and apart from, their consciousness of guilt," is surely an unfortunate periphrasis for "to estimate the mark of faith which, besides the consciousness of guilt, has to be taken account of in the objects of justification," which is the plain sense of the German (das ausser dem Schuldbewusstsein zu beachtende Merkmal des Glaubens zu beurtheilen). Similarly, on p. 106, in place of Ritschl's statement: "The marks which distinguish Christianity as a religion, and those which denote its ethical purpose, must not be confused with one another, if Christianity in both respects is not to be distorted and falsified" (nicht in einander gewirrt werden dürfen, wenn das Christenthum nicht in beiden Beziehungen getrübt und verfälscht werden soll), we have the needlessly paraphrastic form: "The characteristic marks . . . are therein confused with each other; whereas, if Christianity is not to be distorted and falsified in both respects, they ought to be clearly distinguished." In the chapter on Sin, the translator, we think, in one or two instances misses the idea. Thus, on p. 345, we read:

“The sin of individual persons, as Paul declares, then arises only because the doom of death is already valid for all individuals in virtue of the divine decree”. The “because” and “only” here completely change the sense, which, as the context shows, is that the sinning of individuals takes place in a condition of things where already death is valid for all (apart from such sinning, *cf.* p. 347) by an act of divine judgment. This, too, is the meaning of the German (Das Sündigen der Einzelnen finden statt, indem schon jenes Todesverhängniss für alle Einzelnen in kraft des göttlichen Urtheils giltig ist). On the next page (346) the rendering “the sinful state of the many which, in his (Paul’s) opinion, is latent in Adam’s disobedience,” might suggest the idea of transmission of depravity by generation, which Ritschl seeks to exclude. “Sündenstand” had better be translated as on p. 347, “status of sin,” and “involved” (enthalten) might be less ambiguous than “latent”. The discussion of the distinction of sin and crime on p. 334, throws light back upon an earlier passage where that distinction is a little blurred. On p. 27 we read: “The conception of sin committed by men is also, it is true, a religious one, as distinct from injustice and crime”. What Ritschl aims at saying is, that the notion of sin is certainly also a religious one, in distinction from that of injustice and crime. Materially the acts are the same, but in describing them as *sin* we estimate them in comparison with God’s precept and honour. To take only another instance, it is distinctly ambiguous if we read, as on p. 330: “On that basis Christ can be understood only as the Bearer of God’s operation against sin”. This *might* be understood in the sense of endurance of the consequences of transgression (sin-bearer). The ambiguity would be removed if some such expression as “the representative of the divine operation in counteracting sin (or directed against sin)” were employed (der Träger der göttlichen Gegenwirkung gegen die Sünde). A verbal criticism may be offered on the word “primitive” on page 390, “the primitive formula of the One Person in two natures”. Ritschl would hardly grant that this formula was “primitive”

“Old ecclesiastical” (altkirchliche) would better express the meaning.

As already hinted, even to bring these stray illustrations together is almost an unfairness to the book, the general and all but uniform excellence of which casts such criticisms into the shade. In the event of a new edition being called for, however, some of them may be felt worthy of consideration.

The scope of this notice does not permit of lengthened review of the theological positions of the book, for which in other circumstances the publication of a translation might afford a tempting opportunity. The reader will readily discover to his satisfaction that throughout the work there breathes the profoundest conviction of the reality and completeness of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ; of the truth and worth of Christianity as the perfect spiritual and moral religion; of the dignity of Christ's Person, and indispensableness of His work, within the limits set by the rejection of everything which Ritschl would call metaphysical (pre-existence, union of divine and human “natures”) and legal; of the freedom of access to God accorded to believers, unhindered by the consciousness of guilt; of the religious elevation and freedom from the world attainable through trust in God, and the sublimity of the moral task imposed by the ideal of the kingdom of God. In one sense the closing section of Ritschl's book—that on the religious and moral functions springing out of reconciliation—is the key to the whole, for the goal to which all religion is directed is attained by faith in God's Fatherly providence, and devotion to the ethical ends of the kingdom. It is when the reader goes a little deeper that he finds reason to doubt whether these ideas, which have so remarkably Christian an imprint, are apprehended in a manner truly in accord with the Christian revelation and consciousness of reconciliation. This question will be specially pressed upon him by Ritschl's withdrawal of the whole sphere of religious knowledge from contact with theoretic thought, and the setting forth of such knowledge in the form of what he is pleased to call “independent value-judgments”; by his polemic against

an abiding nature in the soul and in God ; by his thoroughgoing attack on the idea of a divine essential righteousness, and his rejection of a punitive or retributive moral order ; by his substitution of the revelation-Person of Jesus Christ, which has for us the "religious value" of God, for an essential Deity of the Redeemer ; by his denial of hereditary sinfulness ; by his view of justification, which, if contrasted with the Roman Catholic "*Gerechtmachung*" is just as little, in a real sense, the "*Gerechtsprechung*" of Paul and of the Evangelical Church, seeing that legal or forensic ideas are altogether excluded from it ; with many other points that will readily occur. He will find, at any rate, abundance of paradoxes to solve, and apparent inconsistencies to reconcile, in one place, *e.g.*, the contention that "religion and theoretic knowledge are different functions of spirit which, when they deal with the same object, are not even partially coincident, but wholly diverge" (p. 194) ; in another, a rebuke of Kant for opposing practical and theoretical reason, since "knowledge of the laws of our action is also theoretical knowledge, for it is knowledge of the laws of our spiritual life" (p. 222) ; in one place, an energetic combating of the idea of an essential nature in God (pp. 240, 283), in another, mention of "the law of love, the authority of which is based in the very nature of God" (p. 253) ; in one place, the representation of God as "the Author and the Active Representative of the moral law" (p. 58), and agreement with Kant in his description of God as "the Moral Creator and Ruler of the world" (p. 219), in others, a keen antagonism to every conception which makes "law" in any degree determinative of the relations of God and men (*e.g.* pp. 95, 261). Throughout the book "forgiveness of sins," or "justification," is rightly put in the forefront as the first necessity of the sinner, and is frequently spoken of as an act or judgment of God altering the relation of the sinner to Himself ; in passages that take us more into the interior of the system we learn that forgiveness is not an act in time at all, and relates, not to the individual, but to the community, does not denote, therefore, any change in God's relation to the sinner other-

wise than as that is implied in a change in the sinner's relation to God. From the "religious" or "temporal" point of view, we may "have the impression of a change from divine wrath to divine mercy," but this is simply "because we cannot but regard and judge our relations to God under the form of time" (pp. 323-5). "Forgiveness," in truth, is, in the strict sense, a misnomer in the system. Ritschl's theology, if it is to be rightly apprehended, needs to be taken as a whole, and if it is so regarded, it will present itself as a very unique and striking, but in many respects also very challengeable, product of a strong, but not always particularly coherent, mind.

JAMES ORR.

Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament. Lieferung 10. Das Buch Jesaia erklärt.

Von Karl Marti. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B., und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. Large 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 428. Price 7s. net.

MARTI'S commentary on Isaiah has been eagerly looked for, and will not disappoint its readers. So much has been written about Isaiah during the last ten years that he has the best of opportunities for bringing some of the problems to be solved some steps nearer to a final solution. The best of scholars cannot afford to disregard his predecessors, and Marti shows no disposition to neglect them; he is therefore sure to produce a better book than a self-centred scholar. The comparative narrowness of his limits is no doubt a disadvantage, but such a well-equipped scholar and such a skilful writer as Marti will know how to minimise this hindrance.

Passing over the introductory summary of results, the due criticism of which would expand this article too much, I turn at once to chap. i. There the unity of vers. 2-17 is ably maintained; this is facilitated by omitting ver. 6b as a gloss. Marti's restoration of vers. 10-17, metrical superfluities being rejected, is certainly very attractive. For the rest of the chapter Marti proposes views which are partly new. Ver. 18 is an independent utterance of Isaiah of uncertain date. Vers. 19 f. belong to the period of the negotiations with Egypt (705); vers. 21-26 are a little poem of about the same date; vers. 27-31, a late passage, referring to the early Samaritans, about B.C. 440. To this separation of ver. 18 from vers. 19 f. I am at present disinclined. Wellhausen's and Duhm's well-known explanations are forced; Marti's also fails to

commend itself to me. The redactor of chap. i. certainly saw no sarcasm in ver. 18. But just admit the correction of **חַרֵב** in ver. 20 which I proposed in the *Expositor*, June, 1899, and Isaiah's authorship of vers. 19, 20 receives a blow; it was not Isaiah who said, "If ye be willing and obedient, carob-pods shall ye eat". That neither ver. 18*a* nor ver. 20*b* is Isaiah's, is admitted by Marti; if we further admit that vers. 19, 20*a* is not Isaiah's, it becomes hardly worth while to defend the Isaianic origin of ver. 18*b*. Treat this passage as post-exilic, and a reference to the possible forgiveness of the sins of Judah is no longer improbable (*cf.* Ps. li. 7 [9]).

Marti's view that vers. 27-31 possesses literary unity, seems to me doubtful. There is colour and definiteness in vers. 29-31, but not in vers. 27 f., which are also more effective at the close of the poem, vers. 21-26. Marti's defence of **חֶסֶן** and **פַּעֲלֹ** (ver. 31) does not go to the root of the matter. But the passage no doubt needs further correction. Ruben has corrected **נִיצוֹץ** into **נַעֲצוֹץ**; in **נַעֲרָת** I have lately ventured to recognise **תַּנּוּר**; **הַחֶסֶן** should probably be **הַחֶמֶן**. If I am right in these suggestions, we should render ver. 31:—

And the Hammân shall become a furnace,
And his maker thorns;
And they shall both burn together,
And none shall quench them.

That the author should still (as in 1899 in his *Geschichte der Israelit. Religion*) deny the Isaianic authorship of ii. 2-4, ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9—passages of the greatest interest and of historical value for the time to which they really belong—is not surprising. Three clearly written small type *Excursus* justify the post-exilic date here assigned to these passages. The author's adhesion to the most prevalent rendering of **אֲבִי עַד** (ix. 5), combined with Toy's suggestion of **מִבֵּין** as a possible correction, has led me to reinvestigate the whole passage. That my own correction of **אֲבִי עַד** into **אֲבִי הָדָר** "glorious father, or, governor" (not, "possessor of majesty,"

as Marti gives the rendering) is only plausible, I admit. But no explanation of **נְבִי עַד** seems to me even plausible, and the other difficulties of the fourfold title assigned to the great king in our Bible compel one to look more sceptically into the text. The result is to my own mind highly satisfactory. The title, it is true, loses in magniloquence, but the whole prophetic vision gains, and the twofold name, which is all that I can find justified, is grand enough even for such a hero as the Messiah. It would not be fair to turn aside from Marti's work to give even a condensed description of the steps by which I arrive at this result. But I am in great hopes that the critical and therefore exegetical problems of the passage have been solved.

Marti's metrical treatment of ii. 6-22 seems to me admirable; it is only the text which needs a keener criticism. I have exchanged ideas privately with the author with regard to ver. 6*b*, and find that we have independently worked on the same lines. I cannot help preferring my own solution of the problem, which will be found in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s. v. "Haran"; my solution of the textual problems of ver. 16 exists in the same work, s. vv. "Ebony" and "Ivory". Once more, let me express my sense of the difficulty of such problems, which need to be revolved in the mind again and again at intervals, as one's grasp of critical method becomes firmer, and at the same time my appreciation of Marti's bold stand for a re-examination of the text. On iii. 1-15 the new commentary is very instructive; vers. 4 and 12*a* have been misunderstood, they do not really require us to place the passage at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz. Robertson Smith, however (in a letter quoted in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., p. 81), had already indicated the right course. But surely the puzzling **תַּעֲלָלִים** in ver. 4 has arisen out of **מַעֲלָלִים**, miswritten for **מַעֲלָלִים**; and in ver. 12*a* also we should probably read **מַעֲלָלִים**. And should we not correct either **נְעָרִים** in ver. 4 into **נָשִׁים** "creditors, exactors" (*cf.* Marti on ver. 12) or **נָשִׁים** in ver. 12, perhaps a corruption produced by **נְגִשִׁיר**, into **נְעָרִים**

("common soldiers," see *Ges.-Buhl*, יַעַר 1b). The date of the prophecy is of importance, because in it the prophet declares the ruin of the kingdom of Judah to be imminent, and Marti's determination of the date is very probable.

Passing on to chap. vi., I would call attention to the frank and lucid explanation of the "inaugural vision" of Isaiah from a psychological point of view (pp. 69 ff.). The exegetical details are treated with much care, and with a condensation which does not produce obscurity. Marti recognises (against some recent critics) that "this people" in vers. 9, 10 means Isaiah's fellow-citizens in Jerusalem and Judah; "at any rate it is not *only* the northern kingdom which is concerned". Exegesis is simplified by the view that vers. 12-13^{ba} and 13^{bβ} are two later additions, the second of which, as Marti and others hold, is indicated as such by its non-existence in *Ġ*. Marti mentions (but rejects) the opinion of Meinhold (*Jesaia und seine Zeit*, p. 37), that ver. 12 is the only addition, and that ver. 13 is the continuation of the Divine speech in ver. 11. I would venture, however, to ask for an arrest of judgment. The whole of the second part of ver. 13 is awkward and improbable; the text needs re-examination upon the basis of experience of the ways of the scribes. כְּאֵלֶּה נִכְאֵלֶּה surely must be wrong: and מִצְבַּת "stump" is purely imaginary. וְזֶרַע קֹדֶשׁ מִצְבָּתָהּ appears to be a second editorial attempt to extract sense out of a corrupt passage; it is valuable, however, for the purpose of comparison with the preceding editorial effort. Ver. 13^b in the original text must have run nearly thus, וְשָׂדֶפֶן בְּצִמְחָהּ כִּי-כִלְיוֹן בְּזֶרְעֶיהָ; the whole passage will become, "And should there yet be a remnant (שְׁאֵרִית) therein, it shall once more be destroyed; for consumption shall be on its (*i.e.*, the land's) plants, and parching on its sprouts". It seems to me that considering the strong feeling expressed in vers. 9, 10, the announcement in ver. 11 is unaccountably meagre as the close of the whole passage. In Isaiah v. 15 a pathetic description is given of the effect of the judgment on the population; we expect here

an equally pathetic description of its effect on the land. The land being so utterly desolate, the scanty remnant will have no means of livelihood.

Chaps. vii.-ix. 6 suggest many interesting notes. Suffice it, however, to remark that Marti adopts the now familiar view that "Immanuel" is not the Messiah, and that the entire stress is laid on the name, which, for those who give or bear it, will be a reminder of the great mercy of Judah's deliverance from Rezin and Pekah. Like Duhm, Marti fully realises the religious significance of the encounter between Isaiah and Ahaz; he illustrates his view by a reference to Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 274 f. I note also that he takes viii. 8b-10 to be a later insertion (*cf.* "Isaiah," ii., *Encyclopædia Biblica*), and that, with Oettli, he takes the whole of viii. 19 from וְיִשְׁרָאֵל onwards to be the speech of the advocates of necromancy. Passing on to ix. 7-x. 4 (to which, with almost all critics, he joins ver. 26-29, but see Peiser and Winckler), I notice that he defends the plausibly supposed reference to Beltis and Osiris as Isaiah's, which seems to me hazardous (*cf.* a similar question as to Am. v. 26), and that he recognises the large non-Isaianic element in x. 5-34. On x. 27b-32 there is, I think, much more to be said from a text-critical point of view (see *Expositor*, Sept., 1899, and *cf.* the relevant geographical articles in *Encyclopædia Biblica*). That Isaiah wrote such a passage, is highly improbable, as Marti has shown. That Giesebrecht (*Berufsbegabung der Propheten*, p. 73), should assert that there is an Isaianic basis, is very difficult to understand.

I reluctantly skip over to xiv. 24-27, which, as Marti's clear exhibition of the arguments convinces me, is certainly not Isaianic. This result is of importance for an estimate of Isaiah's view of the future; it also obliges us (again following Marti) to question the Isaianic character of xviii. 3, 7, which passage, equally with xiv. 24-27, assumes the world-wide significance of the judgment upon Israel's enemies. Chap. xiv. 28-32, is also to be regarded as post-exilic (so Duhm and Marti). Surely the (supposed) occasion of the composition is the death of Sennacherib, whose history possessed a typical

significance for the later Jews (*cf.* Ps. xlviii.); a restoration of the corrupt portions is offered in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., p. 195, where, too, the late date is admitted. Marti's commentary on chaps. xv.-xvi. is particularly helpful. In xv. 9. he corrects **נִדְמָה** into **נִדְוָם**, "for a lion do I appoint for the escaped Moabites and for the remnant of the Edomites". The original elegy, he thinks, related to Moab, but an editorial insertion (xv. 9^{ab}-xvi. 4^a, 6, 12) introduced a reference to the calamity brought upon Edom by the Nabathean Arabs. The epilogue (xvi. 13 f.) Marti is disposed to assign (with Duhm) to the time of Alexander Jannæus. I will not here refer to textual questions, except so far as to remark that the disputed **בְּאֵלֵי אֱלִים** in xv. 8, seems to have arisen out of **בְּאֵלֵי עֵלֵה** "in Elealeh". In chap. xviii. two distinct passages are recognised, vers. 1, 2, 4 and 5, 6; the latter passage is viewed as the close of the oracle in xvii. 1-11. This is, in fact, the necessary consequence of the excision of ver. 3, as a late insertion. Looking at my own restorations (*Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, Heb. ed., pp. 195 f.) of xvii. 11 and xviii. 4 f. respectively, I am struck by the way in which the two passages fit together; I think that students in general, and Professor Marti in particular, will also be impressed by this. A valuable *excursus* on the date follows the commentary.

That Marti (like Duhm) should assign the main part of chap. xix. to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus is not wonderful. But that he should prefer the reading **עִיר הָהָרִים** in ver. 18, which, like Duhm, he even renders "lion-city," *i.e.*, Leontopolis) is somewhat strange. The reading in the common text of \tilde{G} ($\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma \alpha\sigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa$) is really a confirmation of the reading **עִיר הָהָרִים**; **חָסָד** and **צִדָק** are liable to confusion (so *e.g.*, **חָסָדִי** in Ps. cxliv. 2 should be **צִדְקִי**), and we actually find another \tilde{G} reading $\alpha(\epsilon)\sigma\epsilon\delta$, **הַחָסָד**, *i.e.* **הָהָרִים**. Chap. xxi. 1-10, is assigned to the period between 549 and 538, and the commentary seems to me nearly as satisfactory as it could

possibly be made on the basis of an imperfectly corrected text. But the fact that two scholars of our own day (Dr. W. H. Cobb and Dr. W. E. Barnes),¹ still hold out against the prevalent critical view—and perhaps I may add that other fact that two earlier English writers did for a time, following a German scholar (Kleinert), also reject that view—might perhaps have suggested to Marti the desirableness of a deeper investigation. I feel that I am myself to blame for not having made such an investigation before him. Marti has really done more for the text of this passage than I was able to do in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* in treating Isaiah. But I have now repaired my omission, with the result that I feel confident that the poem (for such it is, as Marti points out) has been greatly misunderstood owing to corruptions of the text. I will not occupy space by a too brief condensation of my conclusions, which might tempt some critic to attempt a premature refutation of it. But I will at least say that in my opinion the poem has nothing to do with Babylon, but is parallel to Ps. cxxxvii. (which, as Barnes nearly suggested, and as I am in a position to prove, refers exclusively to Edom), and also, of course, to the prophecy of Obadiah (*cf.* Mal. i. 2-4). It is a poetic prophecy on the fall of Edom, which since Nebuchadnezzar's time had more and more come to be regarded as Israel's arch-enemy, and it is very fitly placed beside the oracles of Seir and Arabia.

Earnest support is given to Duhm's interpretation of xxi. 1-18, as referring, not to Tyre, but (altering צַר in ver. 8 into צִידֹן) to Sidon, which was destroyed by Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 348. I must confess that בִּישֵׁי צִידֹן in ver. 4, seems to me to imply that "Sidon," in the sense (whatever it was) in which the port was the town, was still borne by the community referred to. Perhaps further study of the text may convert me to the new view! I perceive that Marti has over-

¹ Cobb, *Journal of Biblical Literature* (Boston, U.S.A.), 1898, pp. 40-61, carefully criticised by Marti; Barnes, *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford and Cambridge) July, 1900.

looked my restoration of ver. 10; but **כִּי־אֵר** is almost certainly a corruption of **מִצְרַיִם** (Egypt); **כִּי** passed into **מ**, and **צ** into **א**; parallels need not be here given. On chaps. xxiv.-xxvii., Marti again follows Duhm's bold suggestions as to dates. I cannot here enter into these. I think he will agree with me that **אֲוִרָתָם** in that famous passage, xxvi. 19, should be **אֲרָכָתָם** (*G ἄρχα αὐτοῖς*); other hard passages I pass over. In xxviii.-xxxiii. Marti, like myself, is much indebted to his Basle colleague. I must be brief, but may remark that he adopts corrections of xxxiii. 17 and 18, which seem to me most important, and venture to say that both (not only that of ver. 18) are my property; there seems to be a slight error in Marti's statement. He also adopts my explanation of **אֲרִיאל** in xxix. 1, 2, 7. I have come to see, however, that this is only a stage on the road. The true reading must be **יְרַחמֶאל** which would appear to have been an old name of Jerusalem (in 2 Sam. v. 6, 8, **פַּסְחִים** and **עֲוִרִים** both represent fragments of the true reading **יְרַחמֶאלִים**; **צִיּוֹן** should be **צִנּוֹר**). The prophet says, The old name of David's city was Jerahmeel ("God has mercy"), but too soon it shall become **לֹא־יְרַחמֶאל** Lo-jerahmeel ("God has not mercy"), ver. 2. The restoration seems to me not unworthy of adoption; compare the symbolic name Lo-ruhamah in Hos. i. 6.

It is time however to pass on to the second part of the Book of Isaiah, which presents peculiar problems, much discussed at the present time among critics. Questions of text cannot be left out of account, but I hope, even within my limited space, to be able to do some justice to Marti's treatment of that difficult section, chaps. xl.-lv. The question of primary importance is that of unity or plurality of authorship. To this Marti gives a clear and definite answer. Chaps. xl.-lv. (the prophecy of consolation) belong to a prophetic writer (2 Isaiah), whose date was about B.C. 540, and who probably lived in Egypt. Chaps. lvi.-lxvi. come from a writer influenced especially by 2 Isaiah and by Ezekiel, who lived at Jerusalem shortly before the first advent of Nehemiah, *i.e.*,

before B.C. 445. To the view that the original prophecy of consolation consisted of chaps. xl.-xlix., in an earlier form, and that this great prophecy was expanded by the insertion of the passages uttered by or descriptive of the Ebed-Yahwé (servant of Yahwé) and of chaps. l.-lv. (including l. 4-9, lii. 13-liii. 12), he is, like Budde and König, decidedly opposed. At the close of the commentary on 2 Isaiah, he gives a condensed but lucid summary of the results as to the Ebed-Yahwé poems to which he has been led in the preceding exegesis.

1. To separate liii. 1-11a as an independent poem relative to an individual (Bertholet) is not possible, nor can we venture to assert (Schian, Kusters, Laue) that lii. 13-liii. 12 is the work of a different writer, since it is the culmination of the entire series of passages.

2. Nor can l. 4-9 be supposed to have a different origin from the other passages (Ley, Laue), with which in reality it presents close affinities.

3. Everywhere the term "Servant of Yahwé" means Israel. The personification of Israel does not go beyond that of Zion (*i.e.*, the community of Jerusalem, or the entire people). All attempts to explain the passages of an individual—Isaiah (Ewald), Jeremiah (Duhm), Zerubbabel (Sellin), the aged scribe Eleazar (Bertholet), or the Messiah of the future (*cf.* Ley, Laue) are mistaken. So too is the view that the reference is to the inner circle of the pious, or the company of the scribes, or those who taught in the spirit of Deuteronomy (Kusters, Bertholet).

There is, therefore, according to Marti, nothing to differentiate the conception of the Ebed (servant) in the passages referred to from that in the undoubted 2 Isaiah. Add to this that at every step in the exegesis of 2 Isaiah, we find glances at the Ebed-Yahwé passages, and that the metres of these passages are used by 2 Isaiah. The result is that these passages must, from the first, have formed part of the prophecy of consolation, which indeed would be seriously injured by their removal.

That scholars like Marti and Smend should take opposite

sides on this question shows that the question is a difficult one. Marti means well in endeavouring to simplify it, but the presumption is that it is complicated, and that further study of the texts is required. When Marti adds the remark that to remove the passages on the Servant is to tear out the heart of 2 Isaiah I am startled. Is it the keen critic of Isa. i.-xxxix. who writes this? Truth does not need such arguments, which do indeed show that a warm human heart beats underneath the armour of the critic, but which nevertheless imply a temporary forgetfulness of the functions of criticism. Perhaps however I misapprehend Marti's meaning; if so, it is only an accidental excess of language, such as may easily happen even to a clear-sighted critic. Certainly I for one shall pay attention to Marti's arguments. We have to penetrate deeper into the genesis of 2 Isaiah than has hitherto been possible. If Marti stimulates us to do this, his work will not have been in vain. It is a less important question whether a single person wrote chaps. lvi.-lxvi. Marti, like Kautzsch, follows Duhm in accepting a Trito-Isaiah; I confess I think this view scarcely tenable, even apart from the question of the date of lxiii. 7-lxiv. A Trito-Isaiah, for me, does not exist—only a group of writers, not in minute agreement, but all looking in the same direction; the advent of Yahwé to deliver his faithful ones. With regard to lxiii. 7.-lxix I note with much interest that in lxiii. 18, Marti expresses the opinion that not destruction, but only contemptuous treatment of the temple on the part of the heterodox party is referred to. Also that lxiii. 15 f. and lxiv. 9-11 are rather boldly treated as insertions, due to a writer who lived in the great Syrian persecution when part at least of the temple was burnt and the country laid waste (1 Macc. iv. 38). Rightly enough, he compares Ps. lxxiv., which he regards, with doubtful accuracy, as a Maccabæan psalm.

I will now take up the remunerative task of reporting some of Marti's interpretations. On xli. 22, he remarks that "the former things" is a comprehensive phrase for prophecies and events belonging to the past. In xliii. 18, however, "former" events and not prophecies are referred to. In both passages

the "new things" are the deliverance and restoration of Israel, together with the consequences for Israel and mankind. "No politician could foresee that Cyrus would treat Israel differently from the other peoples, and that this would lead on to the future importance of Jerusalem as the centre of the world; only a prophet could so speak, who had such a full conviction respecting Yahwé and his aims that God's honour would be imperilled if the great political movement were not subservient to the bringing of salvation." On that difficult passage, xliii. 22-28, he says:—

It is first of all emphasised that Israel has done nothing to impel Yahwé to interpose with help. Israel has not called upon Yahwé, much less accompanied its call with sacrificial offerings. The prophet here passes over the fact that during the exile the Israelites were precluded from sacrificing. During the exile—for we are not to refer this passage on sacrifices to the entire history of Israel. Before the exile the Israelites had by no means been backward with sacrifices (*cf.* i. 10-27), and 2 Isaiah is not an Ezekiel, that he should regard these sacrifices as not having been offered to Yahwé (*cf.* Ezek. xvi. 22). In ver. 22, "not me hast thou called," requires to be supplemented by "but I thee," not by "but rather the idol-gods," and in vers. 22-24 it is absolutely denied that any sacrifices whatever had been offered. On the other hand it is said in ver. 23*b* that Yahwé lays no stress on sacrifices, but this does not mean that sacrifices are altogether rejected (*cf.* xl. 16); but to throw a bright light on the spontaneity of the help of Yahwé. To suppose that sacrifices were entirely rejected would take away all justification for the argument. Then (vers. 24*b*-28) it is shown how Israel, by its conduct, had worked in opposition to the Divine grace. Israel loses all merit, but Yahwé's grace becomes all the more splendid. That in vers. 24*b*-28 2 Isaiah is thinking of the pre-exilic period, is unmistakably shown by ver. 27 *f.* It will be seen that 2 Isaiah's object is, not to bring accusations against the Israelites, but to comfort them, and to give some explanation for the preceding period of calamity.

On ver. 27 Marti comments thus:—

"Thy first father is not Adam, who was not the father of Israel alone, nor Abraham, who is called in xli. 8 Yahwé's 'friend,' but Jacob (*cf.* Hos. xii. 3 *f.*). מְלִיצִיךָ 'thy middle-men, mediators' (*lit.*, interpreters, Gen. xlii. 23; *cf.* Job xxxiii. 23), means the prophets; of the unfaithfulness of such the older history has much to relate; *cf.* also Jer. xxiii. 11-18)."

This is no doubt the best that can be said. But it is not quite satisfactory. Using the methods of the newer textual criticism, we should, I think, correct the text thus:—

27	אָבוּ רִזְנִיהַ לַחֲטָא	וּמִשְׁלִיָּה פָּשְׁעוּ בִּי :
28	וַיַּחֲלִלּוּ שָׂרִיָּה קֹדְשִׁי	* * * *
	וַאֲתָנָה לַחֲרָם יַעֲקֹב	וַיִּשְׁרָאֵל לְגִדּוּפִים :

The restoration of ver. 27 was made before I had read Marti's note, in which he objects to my restoration of the next verse (in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Isaiah*, p. 135) that it is not in accordance with the context ("cf. patriarch and prophet, ver. 27"). It is in accordance with the true context; the patriarch and the prophets owe their existence to corruptions of the text. As Marti has pointed out, vers. 25 and 26 are later insertions, so that ver. 27 fits on to ver. 24b, unless indeed vers. 25 and 26 occupy the place of an illegible passage. מִשְׁלִיָּה supports my original reading מִשְׁלִיָּהם for מִשְׁלָם in xlii. 19. Perhaps the writer of the gloss (see *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, and Marti *ad loc*) in xlii. 19bβ had xliii. 27 in his mind.

The book of Isaiah is so full of problems that a simple *compte-rendu* of a commentary like Marti's is impossible. It was time indeed that such a work should be written, and its inevitable *lacunæ* are no discredit to the author. As Prof. Jastrow lately said of histories of Babylonian religion, finality is out of the question. But Marti is young enough to do much more both for Isaiah and for other Old Testament writings, and his scrupulous respect for scholars of the past and the present makes it a pleasant task to interchange ideas with him. As such an interchange the present article, which is of course very far from complete, may be regarded.

T. K. CHEYNE.

The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

By W. W. Capes, M.A., Honorary Canon of Winchester. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xi. + 391. Price 7s. 6d.

CANON CAPES'S book is the third volume of the "History of the English Church," now appearing under the editorship of the Dean of Winchester and Mr. Hunt; in date of publication it follows immediately on the first volume, which was noticed in these pages some months ago. Mr. Capes is fortunate in a subject less familiar than the story which it fell to Mr. Hunt to relate, in the first volume of the series. There are, of course, portions of his history about which "every schoolboy knows" something—the period of Wycliffe and Chaucer, or the quarrels between Edward I., Peckham and Winchelsey. But students of English history have long desired a work like this, the main theme of which is the *Realien* of Mediæval Church life in England, the organisation of dioceses and cathedrals, the constitution of religious houses, and the arrangements for parish work, and in these respects Mr. Capes has given us a notable addition to our available information; within narrower limits and on a smaller scale, he has done for ecclesiastical institutions part of what Mr. Rashdall's great book did for Universities and academic life. In this, rather than in the narrative of the political relations between Church and Crown, lies the permanent value of the book.

The earlier chapters, which deal with the reign of Edward I., afford additional proof of how thoroughly Papal was the English Church in mediæval times. Yet Mr. Capes, in discussing the policy of Archbishop Winchelsey—"so strong a partisan of Papal power"—permits himself the reflection that the archbishop's wisdom was questionable, because "it

was clearly not the true policy of a National Church to appeal to the authority of the Pope against the Crown in the question of temporal possessions". The reflection is itself irreproachable; but it is difficult to find in the writer's own pages any traces whatsoever of a National Church, if the phrase is to have any meaning at all. Any attempt to make the Church national came from the Crown and was bitterly opposed by the clergy, from the time of Henry II. to that of Queen Elizabeth. There is no evidence that the Church sympathised even with the feeling against the pretensions made by the Pope to Scotland, "as a fief of the Apostolic See," which, "naturally provoked an outburst of passionate protest throughout England". One may, however, pardon Winchelsey for withholding his assent to this passionate protest; the passion is natural and intelligible; but the protest came somewhat strangely from a nation whose only legal claim to the possession of Ireland was a gift from the Pope, who had as much right to preserve Scotland from Edward I. as to give Ireland to Henry II. Whether his readers find themselves in agreement with Mr. Capes or differing from him, on such points as these, it will be freely admitted that his narrative is scholarly and accurate, and he never yields to the temptation of placing out of their due proportion, facts that tell rather against than for his own controversial sympathies. In spite of limits of space, he has done much to state more clearly disputed questions of various kinds. His account of the downfall of the Templars is remarkably just to that much maligned Order, because he has taken the trouble of actually reading the evidence against them, instead of trusting to general tradition. His chapter on the persecution of the Lollards states with fulness and in a complete form what must have been evident to any student who has ever looked through the pages of an Episcopal Register—that Lollardry was very far from being completely suppressed under the House of Lancaster. It has frequently been regarded as "a passing eccentricity of religious sentiment, soon to be forgotten," while, in point of fact, it was silently preparing

the way for the changes of the sixteenth century, and for the realisation of the faith of the Lollards themselves, that though they should "be in a manner destroyed, notwithstanding at length they should prevail and have the victory against all their enemies".

The later chapters in Mr. Capes's book explain why the Lollards lingered on, after they had ceased to be an organised sect, for the picture which he draws of the condition of the Roman Church in England is indeed lamentable. There are, of course, exaggerated statements in common circulation, and the considerations on the other side are not always stated. It must be remembered that if the great statesmen bishops did not devote themselves to the work that we should now regard as the main duty of a great ecclesiastic, they yet did for England work of another kind. Education has owed much to the munificence of such prelates as Wykeham and Chichele (whom Canon Capes defends from the accusation of having forced on the French wars of Henry V.) and Waynflete. But when all is said that can be said in defence of the Mediæval Church, there remains a strong indictment which its advocates will not attempt to answer. Even with regard to the parochial clergy, among whom we may hope that there were many exceptions like Chaucer's poor priest, Mr. Capes, after a very fair review of the evidence, sums up thus : "The shortcomings of the clergy have in all ages furnished ample materials for satire ; but such sweeping charges of coarse vices as Gower recounts at length would now be simply impossible for any satirist or critic, and even after allowance has been made for the ruder spirit of those times, it must be owned that the level which they imply was very low". With regard to the regular clergy, Mr. Capes points out that somewhat ignorant prejudice has affected the popular judgment, but his own opinion is scarcely less severe. For good and evil alike, the monasteries have been misunderstood. Men have judged them from the standpoint of the general good ; while they existed for the individual alone, they have been credited with services to education, and have acquired a reputation which they little deserved. From the date of the

Norman Conquest, the schools attached to monasteries were, as Mr. Leach has shown, comparatively unimportant, and the men who taught in them were not monks. As to their charity, Mr. Capes considers that it "took the worst form of doles spread broadcast from time to time, provided for the most part by special benefactions, and not to any great extent out of the common fund, which had been itself given originally in 'free and perpetual alms'." It is, however, pleasant to find a good word for the nunneries. Even "the lighter literature of the times deals tenderly with the nuns, and drops its tones of coarseness and satire in their presence".

Canon Capes has written out of very full knowledge, in a fair spirit, and in a pleasant style. His book adds another, and a very valuable, source on which the student may draw, and the general reader who wishes to understand something of the actual life of our forefathers will find it indispensable for his purpose.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben

Von Dr. W. Nowack, etc. Das Buch Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt von Richard Kraetzschmar. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Pp. xv. + 302. Price M.6.

WITH the publication of Kraetzschmar's *Ezekiel* the indispensable series of Old Testament commentaries, edited by Professor Nowack of Strassburg, takes a long step towards its approaching completion. The leading features of the series are now well known to readers of the CRITICAL REVIEW, the most characteristic being the presentation on the same page of a full translation in addition to the commentary, by which feature it is distinguished from the other two series of Old Testament commentaries now in course of publication—Clark's *International Critical Commentaries* and the more condensed German series under Professor Marti's direction.

The volume before us follows the usual plan by which the commentary proper is preceded by a short introduction of fifteen pages, in which the prophet's name, person, period and book are discussed. On the very threshold Kraetzschmar provokes dissent by departing from the familiar tradition that Ezekiel was a member of the Jerusalem priesthood. Our English versions, it will be remembered, expressly speak of "Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi" (i. 3), but the original may equally bear the rendering, which is Kraetzschmar's, "the son of Buzi the priest". It is after all a small matter, but we mention it for the sake of the principle involved. Here is a passage of which two renderings are possible; one of these renderings, however, has the support of a venerable tradition. Now, even if the case for Ezekiel being himself a priest, which is furnished by the latter portion of his book,

were much less strong than in our opinion it is, we maintain that in a case of ambiguity of rendering, the tradition of the synagogue should be decisive in favour of "Ezekiel the priest, etc.". That is to say, where a tradition like this holds the field, it is entitled to be respected by us until evidence of its falsity is forthcoming, and is not to be set aside by the mere *obiter dictum* of the most respected scholar. This we take to be a true canon for our Old Testament work, though it is so frequently disregarded by workers at home and abroad.

In this discussion of the prophet's personality, and more fully in the commentary (see especially, pp. 45 ff.), Kraetzschmar avows himself a disciple of Klostermann in regarding Ezekiel as a study in pathology, an ecstatic epileptic, subject to aphasia and other mental diseases. No purpose would be served by entering on the vexed question of realism *versus* symbolism in our interpretation of Ezekiel. We agree with Kraetzschmar that the case of the realistic interpreters stands or falls with the interpretation of ch. iv. 4 ff.; but despite all that is here said in favour of their view, we are still unconvinced that this way lies the truth. All the more cordially do we endorse the sympathetic estimate (p. 7 ff.) of Ezekiel's unique position in the history of Israel's religious development. That Israel in exile did not lose itself in the surrounding heathenism, but emerged a purified remnant to be the depository of revelation until the fulness of the time—for this, as Kraetzschmar truly says, we are in the main indebted to Ezekiel. One is likewise glad to see our prophet vindicated from the charge of exalting the ceremonial elements of religion at the expense of the ethical.

With regard, further, to the steps by which the book of Ezekiel took shape (pp. 11-14), the most interesting feature of the discussion, one by which this commentary is differentiated from its predecessors, is the attempt to grapple with the fairly numerous parallel texts or doublets to be found throughout the book. Some of the more evident examples of such doublets—*e.g.*, the opening verses of ch. i. and the section ch. vii. 1-9—have indeed been recognised by previous commentators, but Kraetzschmar has greatly extended their number, and sought

to account for them. We think that on the whole he has proved his thesis, with this caveat, however, that in some at least of the passages where he would detect a doublet, it is perhaps sufficient to remember the prolixity of style which, as we see it in the Priestly Code, seems to have been a characteristic of writers of the priestly caste. The thesis in question is this: Just as we have two recensions of the text of Jeremiah represented by the Massoretic text and the Greek text respectively, so there existed two recensions of Ezekiel's writings. But while the two former remained distinct, in the case of Ezekiel a textual harmony was sought to be established by placing the more striking variations side by side. In addition to the examples cited above, we may add the following: iii. 4-9; iv. 9-17; ix. 5-7; xii. 21-27; xvii. 8-10, 16-20, etc.

The commentary, including the translation of the emended text, fills 300 of the large pages of this series. In its arrangement one notes a lack of proportion, common however to most commentaries, between the earlier and the later parts of the book. Thus the last sixteen chapters (chaps. xxxiii.-xlvi.) receive only sixty-five pages, which, remembering the relatively large space occupied by the translation, is very "step-motherly treatment" (to borrow the German phrase) compared to the same number of pages devoted to the first five chapters alone. The purely exegetical work of Dr. Kraetzschmar is worthy of the highest praise. The ampler space and the smaller type give Nowack's collaborateurs a great advantage over Marti's, and Kraetzschmar has used his opportunity to produce the fullest modern commentary on Ezekiel. Here and there, indeed, it is perhaps too full, and the unusual number of contractions will make its study no easy matter for those whose German is somewhat rusty. It is impossible in a short review to enter into matters of detail for the purpose either of giving or of withholding assent. No one, however, can read many pages of the commentary without being struck by the thoroughness of the work. The best and latest results of research have been utilised, such, for example, as Hilprecht's recent excavations in Babylonia, which have settled

the identity of the Chebar. The commentary was no doubt in print before the appearance of Cheyne's study of the Cherubim in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, otherwise it would have been utilised in the proper place. Another praiseworthy feature is the extent to which the vocabulary of Assyrian, and to a less extent of Egyptian, has been drawn upon for the elucidation of rare and difficult terms. In the matter of textual criticism, Kraetzschmar in addition to giving an independent judgment on the emendations of his predecessors, Hitzig, Cornill, Toy and others, is quite competent to strike out a path for himself. Like older critical hands among his compatriots, however, he is now and then too ready simply to delete a difficult word or phrase.

In so difficult a book as Ezekiel, the opportunities for dissent are almost on every page. One only need here be touched upon, namely, the quite untenable view, as we consider it, that in the "Descent of Pharaoh" (xxxii. 17 ff.) we are to distinguish between "Sheol" and "the pit" as separate parts of the underworld, each with its appointed inhabitants (p. 233). That these terms are (as used by Ezekiel) convertible and synonymous it would not be difficult to prove. It is a pity that the editor has not seen fit to include an index of subjects discussed, as is done in Marti's series and in the *International Commentaries*.

The honourable title of "Father of the Higher Criticism" is assigned by writers on Old Testament Introduction, now to one luminary of the past, now to another. May we here ask consideration for the claims of an almost forgotten student, Khananiah ben Hezekiah? This contemporary of the first Gamaliel it was, who, at the cost of 300 measures of oil, succeeded in reconciling the last nine chapters of Ezekiel with the Pentateuch, and by so doing saved for Church and Synagogue the most extensive, and in some respects the most profound of the prophetic writings.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

**Un Essai de Religion Scientifique : Introduction à
Wronski, Philosophe et Réformateur.**

*Par Christian Cherfils. Paris : Librairie Fischbacher, 1898.
8vo, pp. 230.*

THE fame or notoriety of Wronski (1778-1853) has not echoed much in the English-speaking world. It may not be improper, therefore, to refer the reader for a sketch of his life to an article by Bertrand of the Academy in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1st Feb., 1897). The account is well worth reading as a very curious study in psychology. For in Wronski we have to do with one who makes an array of claims no less than this: "He has discovered 'the supreme law of mathematics,' and resolved equations of all degrees; he has reformed celestial mechanics and substituted for the law of Newton a principle more exact, more general, and derived from reasoning alone; he has made known the law of temperatures and densities at all depths, in the interior of the terrestrial globe; corrected the theory of the tides left imperfect by Laplace; created a new philosophy of physics and chemistry; deduced from the true laws of motion a new and perfect system of steam-engines; indicated the veritable laws of locomotion which, were we not ignorant and barbarians, should long ago, and from the outset, have effected the suppression of railways; reformed, lastly, the calculus of probabilities, and deduced from rigorous formulæ the certain means of mastering chance and of winning at all games. These grand discoveries—it is the glory of Wronski—are derived from one principle which governs them all, and the applications of which to philosophy, to politics and religion, are to solve the social problem and, much more, that of the future life." So far M. Bertrand. Of this man, too, more than one distinguished authority has found himself baffled to pronounce whether he was "a charlatan, a madman, or a genius". That he should have disciples—be, in a small way, the founder of a sect—is less surprising.

With reference to the whole circuit of Wronski's professions the present writer is not qualified to judge. In any case, painful groping through the circuit of his philosophic and religious departments—even under the guidance of a calm and assured initiate—but brings one to the situation in which Lagrange and Lacroix found themselves when charged by the Institute with the examination of one of his algebraic memoirs. They were constrained to report “that they did not understand the demonstrations, and that the results did not possess the importance which the author attributed to them”.

The purpose of the work before us is to clear away some of the “défaillances” and “bizarreries indeniabiles” of Wronski as a philosopher and philosophico-religious teacher, leaving the acceptable and solid body of his doctrine. All that is attained is to make evident to the reader that in Wronskism we have a peculiarly trying phase of the romantic and New England “Brahmanist” style of philosophising. In other words, there is no lack of striking thoughts by the way; but those hardest transitions which science is able to effect only by proof, or at which it is compelled to call a halt, are here accomplished in happy unconsciousness or by a confident sweep of orphic involution. Add that, in the present case, you have the constant formal show of science along with excess of undeniable analytic acuteness, and the special irritation of the thing is readily understood.

The few central ideas, whether of Wronski or of the book on hand, seem to be no more nor better than about this: To the present time, Being and Knowledge have remained, for philosophy, two primitive and essentially heterogeneous elements. Triumph has been permitted neither to realism nor to idealism. And yet all use of intelligence—ordinary commonsense not excepted—accuses this primitive diversity between Being and Knowledge of illusoriness. How, then, is the opposition to be resolved? According to Wronski, the answer is given in the transcendental method of philosophy, first apprehended in the *Cogito ergo sum* of Descartes, definitively established by Kant, and finally perfected by Wronski

himself. Kant "voulait expliquer la nécessité attachée aux connaissances rationnelles, en attribuant au savoir humain, à l'instar de l'être, une *forme* particulière suivant laquelle ce savoir aurait été forcé d'exercer son action. C'est cette *explication mécanique* de la nécessité impliquée dans les connaissances rationnelles, qui porta une atteinte funeste à la sublime tendance développée par le même génie." Kant, that is, failed, except in the domain of morals, to recognise unqualifiedly the spontaneity of Knowledge. Wronski takes his stand unreservedly on the absolutely spontaneous, creative nature of Knowledge, and, thereby overcoming the dualism of Being and Knowledge, is able to attain to unconditional verity and "the Absolute Philosophy".

With Wronski, Knowledge means several things. It means, first, the whole cognoscible, rational character of things (like the Platonic hierarchy of Ideas), not, however, as an externalised product or dead "Form," but as containing the life itself of Knowledge ("l'essence même du savoir"). Secondly, it signifies a faculty, or (when it suits to speak of it as more than a possession either of God or man) a principle, which, in its unconditioned spontaneity, issuing out of itself, embodies itself in the order of things. This latter process it is that constitutes the "Self-creation of the Absolute". For, Knowledge itself is the Absolute—as bare faculty or principle, merely the "virtual" Absolute; but when it has effected its self-creation, the, so to speak, absolutely Absolute. The question of the connection of Knowledge with a knower or, still more, with multitudinous finite knowers, seems to call for no enlightenment. And as to the opposition of Being and Knowledge? This difficulty is solved by recognising in the distinction simply the first act of self-differentiation on the part of the Absolute or Knowledge, whereby the latter renders itself also a relative and "mere created" Knowledge, dependent on Being; but at the same time makes possible its orderly self-realisation.

Wronski and his interpreter are always working up to and around a "Law of Creation" which, in some sort, is again the heart and chief organ of the Absolute, and, as such, "the

summit of the Wronskist doctrine". Wonderful are the virtues of this law ! Out of its inexhaustible, teeming depths Wronski will evoke, not alone the basic principles of the several sciences, but, seemingly, all the remainder as well. Nay, by possessing man of this law, he will put him not only in the way of mastery of all technic, but of achieving his own immortality and becoming, at the end at least, *as God* ! Unfortunately, the secret of his law Wronski has reserved to himself and carried it with him to the grave ; and his disciple, so far as can be made out, only awaits the resurrection.

Further, we have here not a philosophy only, but likewise a religion. The transition is effected in this wise : Knowledge, Reason, is equal to the Logos, the Word that was with God and was God, the Messiah who is the mediator between Man and God, by whom believing men are regenerated and saved. Likewise, "the absolute Reason, placed above physical conditions and earthly pollution, is the Virgin who is to crush the head of the serpent". And much more, no worse than most of its kind. Clothed thus, at length, in the vesture of tradition, the Wronskist philosophy acquires what was needed to complete its appeal to sentiment ; and since this appeal touching ultimate things is the essence of religion, the Absolute Philosophy becomes the Absolute Religion also, as well as a Christian orthodoxy and a "Messianism," to whose higher realisation, through the philosophic culture of mankind, is needed the erection of a new order superior to either the existent State or Church. As a matter of fact, this order already does exist in the "Wronskist Union" ; and, as suggested before, it has its members.

The book before us is an introduction to Wronski. The reviewer may have failed vulgarly to comprehend ; but he does not believe that, outside of Theosophist and Christian Science circles, the world will be found ready to be introduced. Nor do the ideas set forth in our philosopher call for special criticism. They are simply Fichte and Schelling carried into the Witches' Kitchen.

GEORGE REBEC.

**The Book of Judges : Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text,
printed in colours, exhibiting the composite structure
of the Book, with Notes.**

*By the Rev. G. F. Moore, D.D., Professor in Andover Theological
Seminary, Andover, Mass. London : David Nutt, Strand,
1900. Pp. 72. 6s. net.*

**Israel's Messianic Hope to the time of Jesus : A Study of
the Historical Development of the Foreshadowings
of the Christ in the Old Testament and Beyond.**

*By George Stephen Goodspeed, Professor in the University of
Chicago. New York : The Macmillan Company ; London :
Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1900. Pp. 315. Price 6s.*

**Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Allgemeine
Einleitung in den Hexateuch.**

*Von. Lic. Dr. Carl Steuernagel, Privatdocent d. Theol. in Halle
a. S. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. 249-
280. Price 1s. net.*

Das Buch des Propheten Habackuk.

*Erklärt von Dr. Otto Happel, Prediger in Kitzingen. Würzburg :
Andreas Göbel, Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900. Pp. 71. Price
M.2.*

PROFESSOR MOORE'S volume of the Polychrome Bible, the *Book of Judges in Hebrew*, is an admirable sequel to his splendid commentary on the same book in the International series. His second task has been twofold—to analyse the book into its sources, and to reconstruct the Hebrew text. He gives us here the combined results of the higher and the lower

criticism. In both cases the problems for solution are difficult and delicate, and the results are no more than provisional; but, as the author has said, "the uncertainties of criticism are infinitely preferable to the exegetical violence which is the only alternative". In Dr. Moore's opinion the Book of Judges is of great historical value. A glance at the colours shows that the sources of by far the greater part of the book are the ancient prophetic narratives J and E. While the Song of Deborah is stainless white (J, B.C. 850), the corresponding prose narrative of the victory of Barak is dark blue (older strata of E, B.C. 750). The story of Samson is substantially white; so is that of Gideon, with bits of dark blue (E) and light purple (redactor of JE). The story of Jephthah is dark blue and light purple, with patches of dark purple (composite JE) and light blue (later additions to E). Streaks of light green (Deuteronomic expansions) are few and far between. The colour one dislikes is yellow. It means late and pragmatic, after the manner of the Chronicler. It predominates only in the last three chapters, the story of the crime and punishment of the Benjamites. Dr. Moore differs from Wellhausen in regarding the kernel of this narrative as ancient and historical.

In Dr. Moore's reconstruction of the Hebrew text there are many points of interest. He has great faith in the LXX. version of this book, and in some cases has made extensive changes to bring the Hebrew into harmony with it. In xix. 18, there is an evident lacuna, which he fills up by inserting seventeen Hebrew words. In ii. 1, Bethel takes the place of Bochim. In vii. 20, **חֶרֶב** is omitted, so that the war-cry of Israel becomes simply "For Jahweh and Gideon!" In xiv. 15, **הֵלֵם** for **הֵלֵא** is a distinct improvement. In xv. 16, **חֲמוֹר חֲמוֹתִים** are treated as verbs instead of nouns, and the boast is translated, "With the jaw-bone of an ass I have heaped them up". In xix. 18, the LXX. reading, "I am going to my house," is clearly better than the Massoretic "to the Lord's house". It is instructive to compare Dr. Moore's Commentary with his Hebrew Text. He does not in every

case adhere to the opinions expressed in the former. In ii. 3, the Commentary rejects לִצְרִים (suggested by LXX. in place of Massoretic לִצְרִים) as "having the marks of a bad, though old and natural, conjecture". But in the amended Text it is preferred. Chap. iii. 2 is overloaded and clumsy, and while the omission of one Hebrew word relieves the worst of the difficulty, the Commentary wants "a more satisfactory, though bolder" treatment. But the milder measure is preferred in the revised Text. In the Commentary הַפְּרִשְׁדָּנָה "may have arisen from accidental conformation to הַמִּסְדְּרוֹנָה" (iii. 22, 23); in the notes to the Text "it seems to be intentional, artificial assimilation". As one observes these little changes, one sees that the critic's mind is incessantly active, checking and improving its own conclusions. Altogether the work is one of the first importance—an immense boon to students of this book. Is "canceled" (p. 39) a printer's error or an American spelling?

One of the clearest gains of critical science is a truer understanding of the Christ of the Old Testament. Professor G. S. Goodspeed gives us a most suggestive study of this fascinating subject. His material arranges itself under three heads. There is in the Old Testament, Messianic prophecy of the past, of the present, and of the future. (I) "Prophecy of the past" may seem an awkward expression, but the writer's idea is both true and important. He refers to the prophetic idealising of the past. The prophet "looks back on the history of mankind and his people, as it has come down to him in legends, songs and story, in chronicles and annals, in oracles and institutions; he studies it in the light of the Divine inspiration in his own spirit and experience, and combines, organises, interprets it for his generation in its bearing upon the eternal purpose of Jehovah, his blissful designs for his people in the days to come". All these ancient materials "are idealised under the influence of the religious conceptions and aspirations of later ages". The prophet interprets the meagre memorials and reads into them

his own grander ideas; the rude and fragmentary relics of the national past are transfigured. (2) There are prophecies of the present, "expectations of blessing arising out of present conditions and extending on into a far distant day". (3) When the prophet can find nothing of hopefulness in the present situation, he overleaps all temporal bounds and "passes as if by reaction into a future which is as much brighter and more glorious as the present is forbidding". In order of time, the pre-Mosaic and Mosaic ages contribute their ideals; ardent expectations are connected with the monarchy; fervent hopes are born in the time of the earlier prophets, in the epoch of Isaiah, in the age of Jeremiah; lofty ideals spring out of the conditions of the exile, the post-exilic times, and the Maccabean period. Each age has its outlook, each prophet or singer his background. Each ideal is the thought, not of an individual, but of a nation or people which finds in the prophet or poet its mouthpiece. Jehovah as the God of Israel, Israel as the people of Jehovah, is a basis for the loftiest idealism. In order of subjects, *man* is first presented "in his ideal character as created and inspired of God. . . . Then follow all those details which have for their inspiration the *nation* and its career. . . . Then comes the drawing out of the various *institutions* of this national life in their promise and potency. . . . And last of all is disclosed *an individual*, the apotheosis of a lost leader or a present deliverer in an ideal figure, humble and kingly, triumphant in defeat and death." The vindication of the Hebrew ideal is the person and work of Jesus Christ. "As Son of Man, he rounded out the human side of the Messianic hope. . . . As the Saviour of men, he met the Hebrew longing for redemption. . . . As the Son of God, he embodied the Hebrew expectations of the Divine advent and the union of man and God" (284). This summary will indicate the quality of Dr. Goodspeed's book. He splendidly vindicates his assertion that "Messianic prophecy is the very essence and life of the Old Testament book, the vital breath, the ideal inspiration of the Old Testament life". His treatise is written with enthusiasm. The style is fresh and vigorous. One catches a breath of the West in phrases

like "back of this promise," "the main plank of the prophet's platform". Ill-built sentences like "scholarship has sought, and succeeded in part, in disentangling the maze," are rare. The selected bibliography at the end is judicious. As a whole this book, intended chiefly for "the intelligent reader of the English Bible," will serve as an excellent introduction to Riehm's more elaborate and classical work.

Steuernagel of Halle, the author of the volume on Deuteronomy and Joshua in Nowack's *Handkommentar* (CRITICAL REVIEW, July, 1898), has now written a general introduction to the *Hexateuch*, designed to be bound up with that volume. This *Einleitung* "is meant in the first instance for the use of students," and it would be difficult to give them in so brief a compass—thirty-seven pages—a better account of the essential points. The tradition regarding the authors of the *Hexateuch* and its value, the necessity and possibility of separating the various strata, the history of the course of Hexateuch criticism, the combination and redaction of the sources, are clearly represented, and the present *status questionis* indicated. On one point Steuernagel joins issue with Dillmann, Wellhausen and Kittel. What was Ezra's Law-book? The entire Pentateuch, say these writers. Only the Legal parts of it, says Steuernagel. He points out that on the second day on which the people "gave attention to the words of the law" (Neh. viii. 13), the scribe got as far as Lev. xxiii. 33, in his reading and expounding. On the first hypothesis "it would follow that *the whole* of Genesis and part of Exodus was read *and expounded* on the first day!" Besides, "the hearing of the familiar tales would hardly have caused the sensation described in Neh. viii. 9". And nothing could have been farther from Ezra's purpose—the reforming of Jahve's community—than to becloud his legislation with other writings of an entirely different stamp (p. 277).

Dr. Happel's exposition of Habakkuk is rather out of date. He begins in the usual way by expressing dissatisfaction with all the previous critical solutions of the problems connected with the prophecy. Budde's theory is that the oppressor of Israel, whose doom the prophet foretells, is not the Chaldean but the Assyrian. This theory has been accepted by Cornill and G. A. Smith. Happel dismisses it with some points of exclamation. He himself deliberately goes back to the allegorical method of the Church Fathers. The oppressor of Israel is not a real and historical, but an ideal and eschatological enemy. "The immediate subject of the prophecy is the spiritual conflict between the people of God and the great enemy of God." Again, "the time of the *Syrian* oppression is the only suitable background for our book". The prophecy is Messianic. "The coming Deliverer is Christ. . . . The sea, the rivers, hills and mountains are the hostile world-powers. This view is the only one which does justice to the significant language of the prophet." Dr. Happel writes with confidence. He is also a scholar. But he is out of touch with reality. When an interpreter reaches the state of mind in which mountains and rivers are seen as men, he is lost. Henceforth he will wander in a wonderland of his own imagination.

JAS. STRACHAN.

Die Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen.

Von Hermann Cremer, Doctor der Theologie und der Rechte, ord. Professor der Theologie in Greifswald. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 8vo, pp. 448. Price 7s.

THE work of Dr. Cremer has produced a considerable impression in the theological circles of his own land. It has already, in the course of little more than a twelvemonth reached a second edition, a somewhat remarkable circumstance, considering that it is an elaborate treatment of a doctrinal subject, and is by no means light reading. The author's high reputation as a scholar who has successfully treated New Testament subjects, has no doubt to do with this reception of his book. That so systematic a work on *Justification* should have commanded so ready a sale may also be taken as evidence of the revived interest in evangelical truth in Germany. Apart from its merits as a work of scholarship the book is worthy of notice. Its conclusions on the subject differ widely from those that are accepted where the confessional theology of the Reformation is dominant. Dr. Cremer works out his views without reference to the findings of other authors in the same field; except an occasional fling at Ritschl and his school, notwithstanding the fact that there are striking points of agreement between him and Ritschl on the subject on which they have both written so fully.

Is Paul's doctrine of justification peculiar to the Apostle? Does his view that the Gospel is a revelation of the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, in the sense of the justification of the sinner, correspond with the teaching of the Old Testament? If it does (and Paul himself thought it did), how is it that we hear so little of it in the teaching of Christ? If Paul was the first to understand the salvation of God in this way, what are we to

make of the view of it presented in the words of Christ? Are we to regard the latter as a lower stage of doctrine which we may leave behind us, or as a higher than Paul's to which we must return? Is Christ or Paul to rule our thoughts in the great matter of a sinner's acceptance with God? These are some of the questions to which this book is intended as an answer. The position of the author is that the Apostle's doctrine of salvation is not peculiar to him, that it is in reality the doctrine of the entire Bible. "Properly speaking, it is false to speak of a *Pauline* doctrine of justification. Paul set up no new dogmatic; it is indeed a fundamentally different one from that of the Pharisaic school, of which we find no trace in Paul, but it is neither more nor less than the dogmatic of the Old Testament, and of those who remained true to its spirit" (p. 329). This is a very different account of the matter from what we find in the more modern works on Pauline doctrine, where the Apostle's special treatment of the subject is represented as a sort of survival in a Christian dress of a theologoumenon which he had learnt in the schools of the Pharisees. Dr. Cremer's book is an elaborate refutation of that view.

Paul's teaching, he says, cannot be understood except in connexion with its historical presupposition. These are to be found in the Old Testament. We have first, then, an exposition of the Old Testament ideas that bear upon the subject. This is followed by a pretty full section on the modification which the ideas of the Old Testament received in the teaching of the synagogue, and then by an account of the teaching of Christ and of Peter and James. This preliminary matter occupies about 300 pages. The remaining 140 are devoted to the "Pauline Gospel". The book is really a review of the Doctrine of Justification as set forth in the teaching of the Bible, and as finally formulated by the Apostle of the Gentiles.

A very brief outline of his argument may be given; but this will furnish no idea of the rich suggestiveness of the volume.

Our author accepts the view of most critics that the *righteousness* of God in the Old Testament stands in close

connexion with His goodness. It is that form of the Divine activity that is directed, not to the punishment of sinners, but to the protection of the righteous and the maintenance of their rights against their foes. Redemption is in this way regarded as a deed of God's righteousness. Israel, therefore, was taught to rest its hope of salvation on a judicial act of God, resulting in its justification from its sins. And if we ask, how, in spite of its sinfulness, Israel could place its hope of salvation on the Divine righteousness, the answer is, that this arose from God's gracious relation to Israel, as their Father and King. As King He bound Himself to defend His believing people, to manifest Himself in acts of judgment on their behalf, the claim on His judicial righteousness which their faith and obedience gave them being a claim that had been conceded to them, and rested entirely on His grace.

This doctrine underwent a serious change in the teaching of the synagogue. The books of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha show that the original significance of the Divine righteousness as a ground of hope for Israel was gradually lost sight of. The *justitia Dei* came to be regarded not as *salutifera* but as *punitiva*, and judgment became an object, not of hope but of dread. From a God whose righteousness was displayed in the infliction of judicial penalty, a people conscious of their sinfulness could expect no justification until indeed satisfaction was rendered to His righteousness, and room had been made thereby for the exercise of mercy. This idea, taken up into the legal system of the Pharisees, had disastrous consequences for the religion of Judaism.

The old Jewish type of piety, however, formed on the original ideas of the Old Testament, continued to flourish, Cremer shows, in the land alongside of the more corrupt form that reached its full bloom in Pharisaism. Of this we have interesting evidence in the figures that come before us in the early chapters of Luke's Gospel, of the devout men and women who waited for the manifestation of the saving righteousness of God in acts of judgment that were to result in the redemption of His people.

Christ addressed Himself in the first instance to those "meek ones in the land". In His preaching of the coming of the Kingdom of God, He proclaimed a salvation that was to be ushered in by a judicial act of God, having for its object the justification of those who believed in God and waited for the promised good. He indeed delayed the crisis. Instead of inaugurating this era of judgment, He consented to suffer and die, for Israel needed forgiveness, in order that that era might not issue in destruction to them, and forgiveness implied their acceptance of Him as the Messiah in penitence and faith. Hence He appeared not as a king or a judge but as a Saviour who had to suffer and die, and thus bring near to men the grace of forgiveness.

The peculiarity of Paul's view of salvation is accounted for by the circumstance of his conversion. Unlike the other disciples whose faith in Jesus as the Messiah was reached by their following the instinct of the normal type of Jewish piety, Paul was a Pharisee to begin with, and represented the perverted form of the religious consciousness of Israel. The question that was first with him was how he was to attain to the righteousness that would save him from the judgment of the Messiah. He hoped by good works in obedience to the law to make it possible that he would thus escape judgment. But he had consciously failed to achieve a righteousness that could be valid for that end. When converted, he found the true answer: "The righteousness that would stand him in good stead was the forgiveness of sins which he found by faith in the Crucified One. The forgiveness of sin was the justification he had received, the justification of the *godless*. This was the form in which he had manifestly to give expression to his Christianity and to the grace of God that he had to announce to the world" (p. 312).

In the chapter on *The Faith of the Apostle*, the author enters fully into the nature of the faith that is the equivalent of righteousness in the eye of God, emphasising the union with Christ it implies, and the Divine agency that effects it. In the chapter that follows on *Justification by Faith alone, and of Grace alone*, he examines Paul's use of the term *justify*.

As in the Old Testament, it is with Paul strictly a forensic term. The reckoning of faith as a righteousness that frees the ungodly from the imputation of sin is a judicial act of God. His faith is in the judgment of God reckoned as righteousness, and this faith is accepted as a substitute for the righteousness that is wanting, as giving him who has it a quasi-right to justification. All this is of grace. It is the procedure of One who is Judge because He is in the first instance King and Father, revealing in the act of forgiving His royal prerogative to save the sinner, and graciously giving to him who believes in Christ, a claim to be accounted righteous and to be forgiven.

The difference between the Old Testament and the Pauline view of the matter is thus put: "The righteous in the Old Testament are, although sinners, still righteous ones, and as such become partakers of the salvation which brings to light their righteousness, covers their unrighteousness, and establishes them thereby in righteousness. They are righteous ones, therefore, who are justified by the judgment of God, and receive forgiveness and full salvation. It is otherwise with Paul. "All sin and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely" (Rom. iii. 23). After Israel had crucified the Son of God, what was true of the heathen world became true also of Israel. It became a question not of *being* but of *becoming* righteous. How is a sinner to become a righteous man? In no other way than hitherto, *viz.*, by faith; and so Gen. xv. 6, and Hab. ii. 4, are brought into correspondence, and that not artificially but in accordance with the proper fundamental view of the Old Testament. For even the righteous man, as we have described him, and as Hab. ii. 4 speaks of him, could have had no righteousness, no right to hope in God, if God had not first given it to him. This right flows to him from grace in consequence of God's covenant with him, and he has it because he believes. This was Abraham's righteousness, a righteousness before the law and independent of the law, and this righteousness bestowed by God's grace was the righteousness of the New Testament. God bestows it as the gift of His grace, for He works the

faith that is accounted righteousness. Thus we become righteous, and this is what Paul announces. The sense in which he appeals to Hab. ii. 4 is really the same. There is reference there to the righteous man who manifests his righteousness in his steadfast cleaving to God. But how has he become righteous? He would have no right to trust in God (for before Him no one living is righteous) if God had not given him the right, had not thereby put him, in spite of his sin, in the position of a righteous man. Therefore this righteousness also consists in the forgiveness of sin" (pp. 348-9).

I cannot refer to the interesting chapters that follow on Judgment according to Works, Election and Adoption, The Significance of the Law, Justification and Baptism, The Agency of the Holy Spirit in the Grace of Justification. A word remains to be said on the concluding chapter on the connexion between our justification and the death and resurrection of Christ. The old idea that the suffering and death of Christ availed to the sinner's justification because the righteousness of God required to this end that the punishment of sin should be borne by a substitute, if it was to be remitted to the sinner, is repudiated by the author as an idea alien to Paul's thought, and betraying the influence of Pharisaic teaching on Christian theology. His own view is indicated in these sentences: "It is the crucified Christ in whom Paul recognises the Messiah, in whom he discovers that God's judgment is in man's favour. That supplied the knowledge that Christ suffered death from God for us, in order that death might not inflict on us the judgment we had deserved" (p. 435). But why was this necessary? The answer is that "the suffering and death of Christ is the accomplishment of the world's pardon or redemption. In pure grace God sends His Son. The presence of His Son is the gracious pardon of the world (*die Begnadigung der Welt*). For He suffers all that men in their alienation from God inflict upon Him without uttering a word of complaint. His suffering and death is the exercise of the grace of forgiveness towards the world. The sin of the world against God (in the rejection of His Son), is, on the side

of God, the covering and forgiveness of sin " (p. 435). " His union with us brings death to Christ, but He endures it without separating Himself from us or abandoning us to judgment, and the Father suffers Him to die, or surrenders Him to death, that we might be spared judgment. He raises Him from the dead and gives Him back to us that we might have in Him a Saviour and Helper " (p. 438). The virtue of His death lies in His maintenance and manifestation of the spirit of forgiveness to the end.

It will be seen that the results of this biblical inquiry are at variance in important particulars with traditional orthodoxy. At the same time they approximate very closely to those of inquirers in the same field who are not such pronounced Biblicists as Cremer is. Ritschl and he are substantially at one in their findings on this subject. Cremer's exposition of faith is indeed worked out in a simpler and more evangelical way, and contrasts favourably with the stiff and somewhat scholastic treatment of it by Ritschl. But both agree in refusing to father upon the Apostle that view of the Divine righteousness that lies at the root of the scheme of thought employed in the scholastic theology of Protestantism to formulate the great reformation doctrine of justification. This revolt against the current dictum of the Pharisaic origin of the Pauline type of doctrine is significant.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

Das gesetzesfreie Evangelium des Paulus nach seinem Werdegang dargestellt.

Von Dr. Paul Feine, ord. prof. der. evangel. Theol. in Wien, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 232.

THIS is a most elaborate and scientific study of the personal life of Paul before and after his conversion, showing what his spiritual attitude was in the pre-Christian period and what the spiritual processes were by which he advanced to that which is represented in his apostolic teaching. In a short introduction Dr. Feine clearly indicates his position. He objects to the point of view from which the Tübingen school of Baur and Holsten has framed its theory of Paul's doctrine as one sided, inasmuch as it regards the construction of the Pauline system from the purely intellectual side as a pure dialectical process. The other extreme is maintained by a young theologian, J. Müller, in an interesting and suggestive work published a year or two ago, *Das persönliche Christenthum der paulinischen Gemeinden nach seiner Entstehung untersucht*. He finds in the Epistles no theology, but only intuition and loose reflection, and represents Paul as a theosophist rather than a theologian; not a religious teacher, but a passionate religious agitator. The truth lies between these two extremes. While recognising the enthusiastic, emotional and mystical element in Paul's nature, Dr. Feine sees in him also a thinker of no ordinary measure, who, with a thoroughly logical mind, traces back every phenomenon to its original ground and seeks to reduce all the facts of consciousness to an undisputed unity. As apostle, Paul broke through the limits of contemporary Judaism without ceasing to be a Jew in his thinking and sentiment.

In the first chapter, pp. 12-46, our author discusses the content of Paul's pre-Christian consciousness in his sections on the Pharisaic and the Hellenistic elements. In this latter section we have a careful discussion of 1 Cor. xv. 45 *ff.*, on the first and second Adam, which may be compared with the admirable treatment of the subject by Dr. Somerville in his Cunningham Lecture, pp. 51-53. The conclusion reached by Dr. Feine is that we cannot prove that Philo's theory of the double creation of man and the consequent conception of the Messiah as the pre-existent heavenly man, influenced Paul's pre-Christian thinking, and that the supposition is contradicted by 2 Cor. v. 16, where Paul declares that before his conversion he had held the Pharisaic doctrine of the Messiah. As a Christian, he makes use of Philo's mode of expression, but in an opposite sense. But whatever modes of thought and expression he may have borrowed, his whole circle of thought differed from that of Greek philosophers and Jewish traditionalists in this, that it was created out of his own Christian experience.

Another passage of very special interest is that, pp. 131-168, which treats of Paul's doctrine of the Christian's relation to sin, as set forth in Rom. vii. On the much-debated question of the interpretation of this chapter, Feine concludes that, with certain reservations, we must understand this passage in the sense of Augustine and the Reformers, as giving the experience of a regenerate man—of one, however, who has not made the highest attainments in the spiritual life. The apostle, as a genuine Pharisee, could not, before his conversion, have had a full knowledge of sin, and the attitude of the unconverted Paul to sin and the law is not that of Rom. vii. 7, for such a view of the history of mankind and of the experience of the individual is attainable only by faith in the Christ who is dead to the flesh and the law.

After two very interesting and important chapters on "The Law," and "The Law, Flesh and Sin," both of which are full of instruction and rich in exegetical studies on some of the most characteristic sayings of Paul, our author sums up the results of his investigation. Paul's system is not so

much a speculative outline or a thinking out in a philosophical way, of the problems with which he met, but rather a statement of necessary consequences from the experience of his life. His knowledge follows the objective facts on which he stands, which he allows to unfold themselves. The pre-Christian thinking of Paul has in it Hellenistic elements, only in so far as these were in Pharisaism, and so Paul is to be understood from the point of view of a religious and not a philosophical interest. His whole theology depends upon his doctrine of God—all his Christian thoughts take shape from his doctrine of Christ and the Spirit. Only from this centre, or starting point, can we get a right understanding of the Pauline anthropology and of his theory of the relation of the flesh and sin.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntniss.

Untersuchungen über die dogmatische Autorität, ihr Werden, und ihre Geschichte, vornehmlich in der alten Kirche, von Dr. Johannes Kunze. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 8vo., pp. xii., 560. M.15.

WHAT is the Rule of Faith? This question is still the battleground of Catholic and Protestant, of Episcopalian and Presbyterian, of Ritschlian and Evangelical. Prof. Kunze seeks to solve the problem by a thorough investigation of the historical origins and subsequent development of the conception of a rule of faith. He has already won his spurs in this field of inquiry;¹ the present work shows a still more masterly grasp of the whole field of early Christian literature, and proves Dr. Kunze well qualified to speak even with Zahn and Harnack in the gate. Prof. Zöckler of Greifswald² has referred to Dr. Kunze's work as the first serious attempt to combine in a larger synthesis the valuable researches of Overbeck, Zahn, etc., in the history of the Canon, and of Kattenbusch, Swainson, Burn, etc., in the history of the Creed; and, on this ground alone, his work must be reckoned with by those who would red the marches between the authority of Scripture and that of Christian tradition, or who would restate, in the light of history and of modern criticism, the relation of the Church of Christ to the written Word. The keen conflict which has been waged in the Lutheran Church over the authority of the Apostles' Creed has evoked not a few writings of interest and value, but probably none which excels this work of Dr. Kunze's in width of outlook, in thoroughness of research, in calmness of judgment, and in permanent scientific worth.

¹ Cf. his *Marcus Eremita*, 1895; *Das Nicänisch-Konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, 1898.

² Cf. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, July, 1899.

The familiar conception of a "rule of faith" (*κανὼν τῆς πίστεως* s. *τῆς ἀληθείας*, *regula fidei*) meets us in Christian theology from about the year 170. According to Zahn, it was simply another name for the creed confessed by the Christian convert at baptism, of which we have a later form in the so-called Apostles' Creed. According to Harnack, the baptismal confession was erected into an infallible rule of faith by the Church at Rome, which thus laid the corner stone of Catholicism, and took a long step in the fatal road that led away from the historical figure of Christ, than which there ought to be no other rule of faith. Prof. Kunze's researches make both the one position and the other untenable. In particular, he shows that the rule of faith embraced, sometimes explicitly, but always implicitly, Holy Scripture; and that both a collection of apostolic Scriptures and a fixed type of baptismal confession, which was regarded as the essence of these Scriptures, already existed, and had supreme and authoritative worth for the whole Church, before the two, in their mutual relation and interdependence, were employed in the conflict with heresy as a *rule of faith*. Dr. Kunze defines the original meaning of the rule of faith in two alternative statements of equal validity, the first of which is more apposite to the Western, the second to the Eastern Church. "The Rule of Faith in the Old Catholic Church is the Baptismal Confession, in so far as it is employed against heresy, and is supplemented and explained from Holy Scripture, Holy Scripture itself being always included." Or, "The Rule of Faith is the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments conceived as a unity and employed against heresy, in so far as Scripture has for its content the faith expressed in the primitive Baptismal Confession, this Confession itself being always included". This twofold definition is explained and established by means of an exhaustive inquiry into the writings of the early Fathers, and from the vantage ground thus gained, a flood of light is thrown backward upon the origins of the rule of faith, and forward upon the whole course of its future development.

After a short introduction, setting forth the nature of the

problems which gather round the conception of a rule of faith (chap. i., pp. 1-4), and an inquiry into the origin, meaning and distribution of the various terms in which this conception is expressed (chap. ii., pp. 5-16), there follows a careful investigation of the "Baptismal Confession in the Pre-Nicene Church," and ample proof is given that in the Eastern, as well as in the Western Church, a short Trinitarian confession of the same general type had been in use from the very earliest period in connection with the sacrament of Baptism (chap. iii., pp. 17-71). Under the heading "Rule of Faith and Baptismal Confession" (chap. iv., pp. 72-91), it is shown that these two conceptions were not identical, that the Baptismal Confession even in the Western Church became the rule of faith only when directed against heresy, and that the rule of faith always included something, and often included much, beyond what is contained in the Baptismal Confession. The Confession was the skeleton or framework; the clothing, the flesh and blood, came from Scripture. An elaborate inquiry, entitled "Rule of Faith and Holy Scripture" (chap. v., pp. 92-184), shows in detail how, for the Fathers of the second and third century, not excluding Tertullian, Holy Scripture, and more particularly Apostolic Scripture, was always included in greater or less degree under the conception of the rule of faith. Tertullian's advice to discard Scripture, and employ only the rule of faith for the condemnation of heretics, was the conscious innovation for ecclesiastical purposes of a practical lawyer, and was not always followed by Tertullian the theologian. A "Comprehensive View of the Rule of Faith in the Old Catholic Church" (chap. vi., pp. 185-215) justifies, as against Kattenbusch on the one hand and Harnack on the other, the twofold definition already quoted of the rule of faith. This definition explains what Harnack has failed to explain—the triumph of orthodoxy over Gnosticism. Harnack is historically inaccurate when he says that the Church vanquished Gnosticism at one stroke by transforming a baptismal confession into a statutory and infallible rule of faith. At such full-blown Catholicism the Church arrived by very gradual

steps. The course of this remarkable development, its relation to the canon of faith and the canon of Scripture, its gradual exaltation of the Church above both Scripture and Creed, is traced in a long and interesting chapter, "The Later Historical Development of the Rule of Faith in the East and in the West" (chap. vii., pp. 218-312).

Having endeavoured by a wide induction to reach the true historical conception of the rule of faith, Kunze now returns to the problem of its origin, which he describes as in a sense the main problem of the history of Dogma. This subject is treated at length under the title "The Evolution (Herausbildung) of the Rule of Faith in the Conflict with Gnosticism and Marcionitism" (chap. viii., pp. 313-442). The fundamental conception of Harnack's *History of Dogma*, according to Kunze, is that the New Testament Canon, and the Baptismal Creed were creations of the (Old) Catholic, and especially of the Roman Church, in order to crush out heresy. Against this conception Kunze raises an emphatic protest; and it will be difficult to withhold assent from his carefully won conclusions. By means of a thorough investigation of the characteristic features of Gnosticism and Marcionitism, he proves conclusively that an apostolic canon and an apostolic creed were already the inalienable possession of the Church before they were employed as a rule of faith against heretics. Apostolic origin, not ecclesiastical sanction, had already given both to creed and canon their supreme authority; the conflict with heresy only made the Church conscious of the worth of what she already possessed.

After an interesting discussion of the light thrown upon the history of the *Regula fidei*, or dogmatic authority, by the parallel history of the "Regula disciplinae," or ethical authority, (the vow of renunciation, etc., which preceded the baptismal confession), (chap. ix., pp. 443-464), Prof. Kunze brings his task to a close by a "General Review of the Development of the Rule of Faith and its Issues in the Reformation" (chap. x., pp. 465-548). This is pre-eminently a chapter for the

times. The early Fathers, who had to defend the truth against heresy, rendered this fundamental service to the Church that they made her conscious of the existence of a supreme authority or rule of faith, first—and the order is essential—in the Apostolic writings, then in the Apostolic Confession, and lastly also in an Apostolic Church. The original relation of these three elements in the rule of faith was grievously altered in the course of the succeeding centuries; but the Reformers, and in particular Luther, went behind the first beginnings of Catholicism and revived the primitive rule of faith in its purest form. According to Harnack, Luther “refused to have his mouth stopped even with the authority of an apostle,” and at the same time brought over with him into the Protestant Church such rags of Catholicism as the Apostles’ Creed, and a verbally inspired Canon. Kunze emphatically repudiates both these statements, offers a spirited defence not only of the consistency of Luther but of the soundness of his Christian judgment, and maintains that the Evangelical Church of to-day has no other choice than to find her rule of faith where Luther and the early Fathers found it, *viz.*, in what is Apostolic. Thus in her canon of Scripture she cannot give an equal place to all those books “of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church” (*Art. of Religion*, vi.); that were to set the authority of the Church above the authority of the Apostles; the true canon both of Scripture and of the Faith is *das apostolische*.¹

So bald a survey does great injustice to the contents of a rich and important volume, and space forbids either greater detail or the discussion of individual points. Even those who occupy a different standpoint from Dr. Kunze will be grateful to him for his accurate and wide research, and for his fresh, vigorous and lucid discussion of a great subject; while very many will hail his work as an invaluable contribution to

¹ Cf. Kunze’s *Evangelisches und Katholisches Schriftprinzip* (Leipzig, Dörffling und Franke, 1899), an interesting lecture delivered to the *Hohensteiner Pastoral-Konferenz*.

a right understanding of early Christianity, and to the settlement of some very modern and very pressing problems with regard to the authority of Scripture, of the Church, and of tradition. Students of the history of the Creed will find in an appendix a valuable collection of original documents (with notes) entitled, "Materials for the History of the Baptismal Confession in the Eastern Church since the Fourth Century".

ROBERT A. LENDRUM.

Anecdota Oxoniensia.

The Letters of Abu 'l-'Alā of Ma 'Arrat Al-Nu'mān. Edited from the Leyden Manuscript, with the life of the author by Al-Dhahabi, and with translation, notes, indices and biography. By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 4to, pp. xliv. + 152, 148. Price 15s.

THE contents of this volume of *Anecdota Oxoniensia* are not of wide literary or historical importance, though Abu 'l-'Alā, whose letters are here reproduced, occupied a prominent place among the literary men of his time, and gained considerable distinction as a poet. It is needless to say that the book is excellently printed (the Arabic text is very beautiful); while the translation and the editorial work are such as we expect from the distinguished Oxford Professor of Arabic.

The Arabic text of the forty-two letters here published covers 128 pages. This is followed by Dhahabi's life of Abu 'l-'Alā, in nine pages, and by eleven pages of indices—all in Arabic—the whole amounting to 148 pages, as given in the title above.

It is of some interest to note that an edition of these letters appeared at Beyrout when Professor Margoliouth's work was in the press, and the Oxford editor gives in an appendix "a comparative table of pages of the Beyrout and Oxford editions". The English index, though not so detailed as the Arabic, is sufficiently helpful; and the most important dates are given in years A. D., as well as A. H.—for which a word of thanks is due.

But it is time to turn to the writer of these letters. Ma 'Arrah (Marrah) is a Syrian town lying some distance to the south of Haleb (Aleppo). Here in the year A.D. 973 was

born Abu 'l-'Alā Aḥmad, son of Abdallah. He belonged to a family of some distinction. His father was a poet, not without renown, and appears to have been a man of high character and retiring disposition. He died while his famous son was still young. At an early age—before he was four years old—Abu 'l-'Alā had a severe attack of small-pox which resulted in the loss of his eyesight, and handicapped him for life. As a compensation, he had an extraordinary memory—as may be inferred from the numerous quotations in his letters. His life divides itself into three periods: “(1) that of his youthful studies, which terminated in A. D. 993; (2) his life in Marrah ending with his visit to Baghdad, which lasted from 1008 to 1010; and (3) his seclusion in Marrah, which lasted from his return from Baghdad to his death”. In the first of these periods, which extended over twenty years, he received a careful training partly at home and partly in neighbouring cities. Learning and literary distinction were duly appreciated by Abu 'l-'Alā's contemporaries. Study was encouraged. Books were provided. It seems to have been a custom (which might advantageously be followed in our own country more generally than it is) for men of wealth, whose tastes lay in the collection of books, to leave their libraries to the public. In Aleppo a single library is said to have contained 20,000 volumes. Young Abu 'l-'Alā, notwithstanding his blind eyes, took full advantage of the provision thus offered, and, at the age of twenty, returned to his native town with a mind well trained and stored with knowledge. He remained at Marrah for fifteen years, and then left for Baghdad.

The occasion of this journey has been made matter of debate. The loss of a small pension which he had enjoyed in Marrah has been adduced as the chief reason. It may be so. But a visit to the world-renowned capital of Haroun Al-Raschid, on the part of a savant like Abu 'l-'Alā, does not seem to require any such reason. It may not be so easy to explain why he left Baghdad after a stay of only about a year and a half.

It is obvious that he meant to make a prolonged, if not permanent residence in the capital on the Tigris. In a letter

to his maternal uncle, written after his return from Baghdad, he says: "Now I had thought that the days would vouchsafe to me to abide there; but the wild beast sticks tight to his bone . . .; and I found learning at a greater discount at Baghdad than gravel at the 'Akabah heaps,¹ cheaper than dates at Medinah, more common than palm branches in Yemamah, more copious than water in the ocean. However, there is some obstacle in the way of every blessing, and some storm cloud or roller in the way of every pearl." . . . "Had I known that I should have to come back I should not have gone upon this journey; however, 'misfortune attends the tongue'; and fortune is fickle; and events are like waves of the sea—some of them revealing foul vegetation, others fair rows of pearls. Man knows not to what his mind is attached, nor to what thicket his luck will bring him. Had I known the future, I should have got myself great good fortune, and no harm should have touched me." The truth is that he was too independent. Like Samuel Johnson, he would not bend the knee to the patrons of his time.

This feature of his character was apparent in Marrah before he went to Baghdad. And it was not likely to serve him well among the sycophants and self-seekers of the capital. It is true that his fame preceded him, and he received a warm welcome from many. But others looked askance. And within little more than eighteen months he deemed it expedient to leave the place. He himself gives as reasons for his departure his mother's illness, and his failing resources.

This may be accepted; but it is highly probable—as reported in this volume—that some straightforward criticism gave offence in influential quarters, and Abu 'l-'Alā thought it advisable to return home, when he was only beginning to be familiar with the life of the gay capital. It can scarcely be doubted but that he could easily have earned a comfortable livelihood, if he had fallen in with the customs of the savants of the city. That he left the capital with reluctance and

¹ See Keane, *Six Months in the Hijāz*, where it is stated that after each pilgrimage these heaps are removed.

regret may be inferred from what he says to a friend in letter xxii.: "Damascus is the dearly-loved bride of Syria, and the chief jewel of her necklet; and I may hope that the Mosque of Damascus has made you forget the Mosque of Al-Medinah, and that its water has consoled you for the water of the Tigris. I have indeed told you ere this, that he who leaves Baghdad finds no place that will do instead, however well watered it be; for there the old learning is still fresh, whereas sound knowledge is sickly elsewhere. Syria is more friendly and less expensive."

Disappointed by his visit to Baghdad, and stricken with sorrow through the death of his mother, which took place before he returned to Marrah, Abu 'l-'Alā sought a life of seclusion. But it was not to be. The blind poet who had associated with the savants of Baghdad became the hero of Marrah. Travellers visited his humble home. His advice was sought from every side. Students resorted to his lecture room. He was invoked as intercessor with the governor on behalf of his native town when, on account of a riot, it was exposed to severe treatment. Another governor endeavoured to secure his services as court poet. He declined the honour in a letter full of quaint illustrations, the last sentence of which is as follows: "I send his highness, the prince, the greeting of a grateful and loving servant, a greeting which joins sunrise to sunset, and continues the attack with the rise of Hesperus till the time when the garments of night are rent; a greeting which, passing by the dusty plain, renders it fragrant as Indian perfume" (letter xxiv.).

In short, Abu 'l-'Alā became a great man in Marrah, and appears to have continued so till, in A. D. 1058, he passed from this life after three days' illness, at the ripe age of eighty-five years.

The third period of his life was spent partly in teaching, but chiefly in writing. His most popular work was a collection of his early poems, including a few composed soon after his return from Baghdad, published under the title, *Sakt Al-Zand (Primitiae)*. Of his other works (said to have numbered fifty-five) the best known, according to Professor Margoliouth,

is a collection of poems, "in which every verse of a poem is made to rhyme in two consonants instead of one, whereby the difficulty of manipulation, which in all the Arabic metres is considerable, is very greatly increased". This book is of special interest, because a charge of heretical teaching was founded on it, and Abu 'l-'Alā's orthodoxy was gravely questioned. Certainly some of his opinions were peculiar. But he seems to have belonged to a family that claimed considerable freedom in matters of faith. When he was taken to task "for having neglected the pilgrimage, one of the essential duties of a Moslem," his answer was, "that neither his father, nor his cousin, nor his maternal uncle had performed it. If they were forgiven, he might expect forgiveness too; if they were lost, he would sooner share their fate".

The letters here reproduced belong to a selection from his correspondence made by Abu 'l-'Alā himself. They abound with specimens of oriental imagination and illustration. There is not a page without its hyperbole, or quaint conceit of phrase or figure. Every region—the heavens, the earth, the sea—seems to be at the beck and call of the writer. But it is not possible to convey a conception of these epistles by any words of criticism. We give a quotation or two which may serve the purpose, and, perhaps (?) induce the reader to peruse these wonderful productions for himself. The first letter shows us what we may expect. A public letter had been addressed to Marrah by the famous Al-Maghribi, and Abu 'l-'Alā rises to the occasion. "To us, the inhabitants of this town, a great honour has been given, and 'there has been delivered unto us an honourable missive'; proceeding from the residence of the great Doctor, who holds the reins of prose and verse; a missive which it is an act of piety to read, and whose peroration, or rather whose entirety, is frankincense. 'Imitate it who can!' It is too grand to be kissed, kisses are for its shadow: too precious to be handed about, let that be done with copies. For us it is a sort of Sacred Book! Were we not so chary of its witty contents, and so afraid of its ink running, and the light of its ideas being blurred, every mouth would have hastened to kiss it, and

every nose to inhale its perfume. Its lines would have become the cherry-colour on the lips, the scar produced by prostration on the brow" (and so on).

Here is a sample of the writer's *wisdom*: "The envious man is like a prattler, and 'the prattler is like one who gathers wood at night,' who cannot be sure but that he will lay hold on a viper, and whoso lays hold on that is face to face with death, and whoso is face to face with death is like yesterday when it is gone. This is to show the seeker after truth that replies are of three kinds, indirect, direct, and one of which mankind are incapable; and that interrupters are of three sorts, the correcting, the captious and the vexatious; and that poets are of three sorts, those who write correctly, those who write incorrectly, and those who use licence; and that licences are of three sorts, in accordance with analogy, in accordance with usage, and in accordance with neither" (letter xxvi.).

Satis, autem, satisque.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

Notices.

We are indebted to Dr. Agnes Smith Lewis for the two interesting publications which make No. IX. and No. X. of the series known as *Studia Sinaitica*.¹ They deal with the collection of *Narratives of Holy Women*, the text of which was written over that of the important Syriac version of the Gospels discovered by Mrs. Lewis, in 1892, in the library of the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. Mrs. Lewis has been able to decipher these narratives from her photographs of the famous codex, and now publishes both the Syriac text itself and a careful translation of it by her own hand. She has also used, in some cases, an older text found in manuscripts belonging to the British Museum. The stories themselves are of very limited interest, except that they cast some light on the ascetic ideas of those old days, and show us what sort of reading was considered suitable for the convent refectory. As Mrs. Lewis remarks, they were "so highly valued in the eighth century that a monk named John the Recluse or the Stylite of Beth-Mari-Kaddisha, in Qanūn, a monastery near to the town of Kaukab of Antioch, being in want of vellum, sacrificed for their sake that fourth century text of the Holy Gospels which the biblical critics of the present day hold in the highest esteem". That the transcriber was this John the Stylite appears from a colophon recently discovered. It is superfluous to say that

¹ No. IX. *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest. Syriac Text.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1900. 4to. Price 21s. net.

No. X. *Select Narratives of Holy Women, etc.* Translated by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., Hon. Phil. Dr. Halle-Wittenberg. London: Cambridge University Press. 4to, pp. xxxi. + 211. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Mrs. Lewis has done her part with her accustomed carefulness and sagacity.

Dr. Joseph Agar Beet publishes the ninth edition of his *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*.¹ The book has been found useful by many, and has had a very prosperous career. We wish it an equally successful course in this new issue. It lacks some of the larger historical elements which are now recognised as part of the necessary equipment of the exegete. But it is minute and exact on the grammatical and linguistic side. It also gives a more faithful representation of the characteristic Pauline terms and ideas with regard to sacrifice, atonement, justification and cognate subjects than one finds in some commentaries of recent date that are held in great esteem. In this it is of great value.

Those who wish to have at hand a concise, reliable and well-written account of the literary and historical questions connected with the various books of Scripture will find it in the volume on *Biblical Introduction*² which we owe to Professors Bennett and Adeney. The former scholar takes the Old Testament, the latter the New. They know their subjects thoroughly, and have produced a joint work of great value in regard both to the admirable precision of their statements and their careful application of the recognised principles of criticism.

The *Expositor*³ has reached the second volume of its sixth series; it has had a remarkable career, and under Dr. Robertson Nicoll's editorship, it continues to occupy an honoured place among our religious journals. This volume contains papers by men like Professors Bacon, Bennett, Dods, Findlay, Gray, Rendel Harris, Margoliouth and Ramsay, not to mention other scholars of repute. It is full of good and useful matter of many different kinds.

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 386. Price 7s. 6d.

² London: Methuen & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 487. Price 7s. 6d.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

The *Heidelberg Catechism*¹ is one of the best of the symbolical books of the Reformation, less logical and complete than the Westminster Confession, but vital and practical in a high degree. Mr. Smellie has acted wisely in adding it to the tasteful series edited by him under the title of *Books of the Heart*. He has given us an admirable edition, in which we have the German text, a revised translation, and a very good Introduction on the Catechisms of the Reformation—Luther's, Calvin's, the Anglican, the Heidelberg, John Craig's, and the Westminster *Shorter Catechism*.

The Messrs. Longmans have laid the public under great obligation by issuing a cheap edition of Dr. Alfred Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*.² Of the importance of the book it is superfluous to speak here. The fact that it is in its tenth impression is witness enough to the place which it occupies in public acceptance. And it deserves the popularity it has won. It is the best book we have in respect of the continuous use of Jewish thought, belief and practice in the exposition of its great subject. It has its shortcomings, it is true, in this particular line as in others. But the fact remains that we have no English life of our Lord that can compete with it in the things which give it its distinctive character. It is a great matter to have it now at the moderate price of 12s., and that not in any abridged form, but complete as originally printed.

The Trustees of the British Museum deserve the best thanks of scholars for two publications which have been prepared with great care and will be most useful for purposes of research. These are the *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum acquired since 1873*,³ and the *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manu-*

¹ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. lxxxviii. + 101. Price 2s. 6d.

² *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. By Alfred Edersheim, M.A. Oxon., D.D., Ph.D. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 695 and xii. + 826. Price 12s. net.

³ London: sold at the British Museum, and by Messrs. Longmans; Quaritch; Asher & Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; and Mr. Henry Frowde, 1899. 8vo, pp. iv. + 64.

*scripts*¹ in the *British Museum, Part I*. We owe them to the able hand of Mr. G. Margoliouth. Both are admirably printed. The latter, indeed, is a superb publication, furnished with splendid plates. It represents an immense amount of work. Mr. Margoliouth has had the help of Messrs. Ginsburg and Posnański in the work of revision.

Dr. Robert Mackintosh of the Lancaster Independent College publishes *A First Primer of Apologetics*.² Its object is to exhibit the Christian argument frankly "as it shapes itself freely in the light of present-day knowledge and criticism". It does this ably and faithfully. It is clear, concise and pointed in its presentation of the various aspects of the case. It gives separate chapters to such topics as the Sinlessness of Christ (which is handled well), the Problems of Natural Theology (one of the best sections of the book), the Gospel Miracles of Healing, the Narratives of the Resurrection, the Argument for Prophecy, the Moral Difficulties of the Old Testament, etc. It supplies a real want, and should be found very useful by teachers and students.

The editor of the *English Theological Library* has done well in including the *Works of Bishop Butler*³ in his series. They make two handsome, beautifully printed, and in every way attractive volumes. The editorial work is ably discharged by Dr. Bernard of Dublin, who also supplies all that is needed in the way of Introduction and Notes. There is an excellent sketch of the Bishop himself, in which Dr. Bernard, starting with Newman's description of Butler as

¹ As above, 1899. 4to, pp. 283.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 92. Price 3s.

³ *The Works of Bishop Butler*. A new edition with Introduction and Notes by T. H. Bernard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer on Divinity in the University of Dublin. Vol. I. Sermons, Charges, Fragments and Correspondence. Vol. II. The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, to which are added Two Brief Dissertations: 1, Of Personal Identity; 2, Of the Nature of Virtue. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. + 352 and xii. + 313. Price 7s. 6d. net each volume.

"the greatest name in the Anglican Church," gives a careful estimate of the permanent value of his contributions to ethics and theology, and explains the particular form which they took in face of English Deism in its golden age. The text is not over-burdened with editorial comment. All that is given is to the point. It would be difficult to imagine an edition better entitled to be called the *Student's* edition than these two splendid volumes.

Among other interesting articles in the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* we notice one on the *English Church in the Middle Ages* by J. O. Andersen in the sixth issue.

The last number of the *Homiletic Review* for 1900 should be consulted for Prof. W. M. Ramsay's article on "The Pauline Chronology". The corresponding number of the *Methodist Review* has an interesting "Study of Eminent Divines" by Dr. J. W. Webb. In the December issue of *L'Humanité Nouvelle* we notice an article by R. de la Grasserie on the question "De la classification des phénomènes sociaux". Professor Milton G. Evans of Bucknell University contributes to the closing issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1900 a paper on the title "The Son of Man". His conclusion is that our Lord selected the title because it was Messianic, "but obscurely so"; that He put into it the meaning which it has in the Book of Enoch, and also the idea of the suffering servant in Isaiah; that to Him it was a title of dignity, but that to His hearers it conveyed at first no clear meaning, arousing inquiry indeed, but solving nothing.

Among the papers of special interest in the closing number of the *International Journal of Ethics* for 1900, we may refer to one by Gilbert Murray on "National Ideals; Conscious and Unconscious," and another by Alfred W. Benn on "The Relation of Ethics to Evolution". "The doctrine of Evolution," says the latter, "from which so much had been hoped, throws no fresh light on the problems of ethics, although perhaps the study of ethics throws some light on the evolution of that doctrine itself. . . . The lessons on which the world's choicest spirits have lived are not made obsolete by

any modern discoveries; nor is there reason to believe that a reversal of moral values is, any more than a reversal of logical values, among the surprises which the future has in store."

Mind for October 1900 contains a number of articles of which special mention might well be made. Among them is one by R. R. Marett on "The Normal Self; a suggested Formula for Evolutionary Ethics," the object of which is to supplant by a better formula the "specious concept that still figures conspicuously at any rate in the more popular 'evolutionary' text-books, viz., that of the 'Tribal Self,'" as put by W. K. Clifford.

In the last quarter's issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, we notice an elaborate article by Dr. J. Oscar Boyd on "The Historicity of Ezra," and another by Professor J. I. Marais which gives an interesting sketch of the "Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa".

The closing number of the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* for 1900 contains an article by Pfarrer E. Steudel on the "Truth of Christ's Pre-existence in its Importance for Christian Faith and Life," which will repay perusal.

The *American Journal of Theology* for the last quarter of 1900 opens with an important paper by Professor Kaftan on "Authority as a Principle of Theology". Professor W. R. Betteridge writes interestingly on "The Historical and Religious Significance of the Old Testament Prophets". Dr. George B. Gow contributes an elaborate paper on "The Place of Expiation in Human Redemption". His position is that, if we take expiation in the sense of the satisfaction rendered to the "Divine feeling toward the sinner in view of his transgression," i.e., the feeling of the Divine righteousness, "we need not rebel against such expressions as vice-penal suffering, expiation in the blood of Jesus, the suffering of the just for the unjust and of the innocent for the guilty, propitiation made once for all, and others of like nature". He adds that, however defective or overcharged the language of some of our hymns and our popular preachers may be, the "religious world will never let go the reality of a

Divine propitiation for sin which underlies this strong language of religious feeling ”.

We have pleasure in noticing also *The Book of the Future Life*,¹ a valuable anthology of passages from all ages and all kinds of literature, bearing on the great question of Immortality, arranged in chapters according to their several subjects and prepared with great care and admirable discernment by Pauline W. Roose, assisted by David C. Roose, a book which none can read without delight and edification ; a new edition, now the fourth, of Mr. E. Griffith-Jones's, *The Ascent through Christ*,² an able and seasonable book which has been already favourably noticed in this *Review*,³ and which deserves all the success it has had ; *State Prohibition and Local Option*,⁴ a timely and welcome reprint of two chapters of Messrs. Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell's book on *The Temperance Question and Social Reform*, the most important contribution which has been made of recent years to the consideration of the questions of which it treats ; *The Religious Spirit in the Poets*,⁵ a collection of essays by Bishop Boyd Carpenter, on the relations between religion and poetry, illustrated by special studies of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Milton, Coleridge, Tennyson and Browning, popular in style, an appreciative, pleasant and instructive companion for quiet hours ; a small volume, *All Change*,⁶ with the sub-title “ Jottings at the Junction of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” by Wilfred Woolam, M.A., LL.M. Camb., a collection of reflections, homilies in miniature, and thoughts on such subjects as “ The Havoc of Time,” “ The Age of Wonders,”

¹ London : Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 275. Price 6s.

² London : James Bowden, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 409. Price 3s. 6d.

³ Vol. x., p. 43.

⁴ London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 115-369, and 695-726. Price 1s. net.

⁵ By the Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ripon, Hon. D.C.L. Oxon. London : Isbister & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 247. Price 5s.

⁶ London : Elliot Stock, 1900. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 76.

etc., often well-expressed and suggestive, but why do they begin with so irritating a grammatical blunder as this: "Neither love nor hate *are* learnt?" ; *From the Scourge of the Tongue*,¹ a tale well told, healthy in tone, and showing considerable inventive talent, by Bessie Marchant (Mrs. J. A. Comfort); a cheap edition of Dr. Carr's biography of the late *Archbishop Benson*,² a book which does not profess to be more than a sketch that might be useful in default of an exhaustive *Life*, but which gives in highly eulogistic terms the main events in the laborious and exceptionally prosperous career of an English prelate who did much for his Church and was greatly trusted and honoured; *The Life of Christian Service*,³ a collection of extracts of a devotional character from the writings of Dean Farrar, judiciously selected and arranged by J. H. Burn, B.D.; the second part of the nineteenth volume of Holtzmann and Krüger's most useful and well-nigh indispensable *Theologischer Jahresbericht*,⁴ giving the literature of *Historical Theology* for 1899; the twenty-first annual volume of *Young England*,⁵ a magazine crammed with good things of all varieties in letterpress and in illustrations, a long-established favourite with boys throughout the English-speaking world; another instalment of the *Biblical Illustrator*,⁶ edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., giving a vast mass of comment and illustration bearing on the interpretation and pulpit use of the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth; a second edition of *An Outline of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*,⁷

¹ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d.

² *The Life-Work of Edward White Benson, D.D.*, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. By J. A. Carr, LL.D., Vicar of Whitechurch and Canon of Christchurch, Dublin. London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 273.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Pp. 200. Price 5s., post free.

⁴ Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, Preuschen, Ficker, etc. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 171-531. Price of the complete vol., £1 10s.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Union. Large 8vo, pp. 492. Price 5s.

⁶ London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 313+262+73. Price 7s. 6d.

⁷ London: Marlborough & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 204. Price 2s. 6d.

by C. E. Stuart, a thoughtful and useful series of papers, designed to help *English* readers to a better understanding of Paul's great argument, avoiding, therefore, all technicalities which might puzzle such readers, and concentrating attention on the essential ideas; the *Report of the Census of Cuba, 1899*,¹ issued by the War Department of the United States, a volume full of information of great interest for the statesman, the statistician, the merchant, the geographer, the historian, and the ethnologist; a volume of excellent addresses to children by Grace Winter, *Keep to the Right*,² on such topics as "Seed-sowing," "Shadows," "The Sand of the Sea," "Nets and Traps," etc.; a cheap but attractive and carefully-printed edition of Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*³; a story by Alexander Macdougall, entitled *The Autobiography of Allen Lorne, Minister of Religion*,⁴ with some very doubtful utterances on the Puritans and the Bible and such subjects, and too much of a didactic tone, but with some stirring passages and some vivid views of Scotch ways and Highland life; a very tasteful and most welcome edition of John Pulsford's *Quiet Hours*,⁵ second series; *An Essay toward Faith*,⁶ by Wilford L. Robbins, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, a small book written in an attractive style and a deeply devout spirit, grappling with the problem "how to make life strong and beautiful and free," here and there somewhat wide of the mark, as *e.g.*, when it speaks of the Bible and Protestantism (which latter term is bereft of the dignity of the capital P), but likely to be of use in its general line of statement to those who feel the pressure of a time of doubt; an *Approximate Chronology of the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ*,⁷

¹ Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900. 8vo, pp. 786.

² London: The Sunday School Union. Small 8vo, pp. 128. Price 1s. 6d.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 484. Price 2s.

⁴ London: Fisher Unwin, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 312. Price 6s.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 352. Price 2s. 6d.

⁶ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Fcp. 8vo, pp. 173. Price 3s. net.

⁷ London: Jarrold & Sons, 1899. Small 4to, pp. 27.

especially adapted to the wants of Sunday School Teachers, Bible Classes, etc., and prepared with care and knowledge by W. H. H. Yarrington, M.A., LL.B.; an edition by H. F. Stewart, M.A., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge, of *Thirteen Homilies of St. Augustine on St. John xiv.*,¹ giving the Latin text according to the Benedictine edition, an excellent English translation, and a considerable body of notes, all done in a scholarly fashion and in a way that will be a real help to candidates for holy orders; an edition of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, together with the Apocalypses of each one of them*,² by F. Rendel Harris, M.A., giving the Syriac text (which is supposed to be original), with introduction and translation, of a curious series of tracts for which the able editor claims the value both of novelty of matter and of a place of some interest in "the record of the decline of Eastern Christianity"; an important volume of *Palestinian Syriac Texts from Palimpsest Fragments in the Taylor-Schechter Collection*,³ for which we are indebted to the scholarship and enterprise of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson; *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles*,⁴ together with a *Treatise on the Triune Nature of God*, by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., both taken from a manuscript of the eighth or ninth century in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, the theological treatise (which appears to be the work of a Christian in defence of his faith against Moslems) being translated, and the Arabic text, which appears to be a translation of the Syriac Peshitta (in the case of Acts and the larger Epistles) and of the Philoxenian (in the case of the others), being carefully edited by Mrs. Gibson with the help of her sister; *Advance Endeavour*!⁵—the Souvenir Report of the World's Conven-

¹ Cambridge University Press, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxv. + 140. Price 4s.

² Cambridge University Press, 1900. 8vo, pp. 39 + 21. Price 5s.

³ London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1900. Small 4to, pp. xxi. + 113. Price 10s. 6d. net.

⁴ London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1899. Small 4to, pp. ix. + 60 + pp. 105 of text. Price 7s. 6d.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. 4to, pp. 264. Price 2s. 6d. net.

tion of Christian Endeavour in London, 1900, a volume well worth careful reading; *The Messages of Paul*,¹ by George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University, a book on the same plan as the *Messages of the Prophets*, previously noticed in this review,² a successful attempt, by a scholar who has already tried his hand in the matter, to make the Pauline Epistles, by arrangement, analysis and free rendering, speak clearly and distinctly to the modern mind; a small volume by R. S. Kirk, entitled, *Side Lights on Great Problems of Human Interest*,³ containing some suggestive thoughts, expressed in clear and simple terms, on Providence, motive as the variant and developer of life, consciousness, evolution and similar topics, and attempting to make good the eternal principles underlying the Christian Gospel on the supposition that the "Pauline and Miltonic theological system is poetical and not historical".

In view of present discussions, the Hon. Arthur Elliot has republished his volume on *The State and the Church*,⁴ which he contributed so far back as 1882 to *The English Citizen* series. Mr. Elliot's view is that "an Established Church is necessarily subject to the State if differences arise between them"; that "an Act of Assembly is, in law, waste paper, if it is in conflict with an Act of Parliament"; that, while it is conceivable that the royal supremacy might be dropped in the case of the English Church, it is not conceivable that an Established Church should be exempt from the control of Parliament, and that, neither in England nor in Scotland, is it possible for the State Church to "exceed the bounds fixed by Act of Parliament". Both the history and the argument which are given in the book are of interest, and Mr. Elliot has a keen eye, which at the same time is singularly blind to some things. He does not seem to be aware

¹ London: James Clarke & Co. Royal 16mo, pp. 271. Price 3s. 6d.

² Vol. x., p. 564.

³ London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 47. Price 1s.

⁴ London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 174. Price 2s. 6d.

of the real position of the Free Churches as regards the right of the Civil Courts to deal with contracts in respect of civil effects. He does not appear to see that certain actions on the part of the civil authority which might be matter of right in the case of State Churches, would be persecution in the case of others. Nor does he understand how, apart from the form of an Establishment, there can be any "national religion" in the sense of a recognition of religion by the State itself. He perceives, however, how the case of the Disestablished Church of Ireland tells, and how changed both the situation and the possibilities are in this whole region of things since 1882, and he says much that is pertinent and worth hearing.

We call attention also to *The Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church*,¹ by William Heaford Daubney, B.D., Rector of Leasingham, a treatise written with the view of asserting for "the other books" a better place in the regard of the Church and in its services than they have at present—valuable chiefly for what it says of the references to the Apocrypha in the New Testament, the way in which they were dealt with by the early Christian writers and by ancient Councils, the use made of them at the time of the Reformation, the estimates formed of them by leading English divines, etc., on all which points it has useful information to give us; *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*,² the third part of the first year's issue of the valuable series of studies prepared by the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft under the title of *Der alte Orient*, in which Dr. Alfred Jeremias, summarising the results of the most recent inquiry, gives a concise and interesting statement of the ideas and usages of the ancient Babylonians in connection with death, burial, the underworld, the islands of the blessed, the bread and water of life in Paradise, etc.; *Der Ordo Salutis in der alt-lutherischen Dogmatik*,³ by Dr. Max Koch, a treatise which takes us back to dogmatic questions

¹ London: C. J. Clay, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 120. Price 3s.

² Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 32. Price M.o.60.

³ Berlin: Duncker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 199.

and theological distinctions and definitions largely discussed of old—ably written and of interest to the practised theologian for the account it gives of Quenstedt's statement of the order of grace or salvation, the spiritual process of the appropriation of grace, the place of faith in it, the difference between the earlier and later Lutherans on these subjects, the influence of metaphysical ideas on the evangelical faith, etc.; *The Church of England: its Catholicity and Continuity*¹—a series of seven lectures by the Rev. Herbert Pole, assistant curate of Bexley Heath, popular in style and having no title to originality, giving a general view of certain great epochs in the history of the English Church with the intention of disproving that it "was made Protestant at the Reformation," charging those of the present day who advocate disestablishment and disendowment with "a form of persecution, if not something worse," and dismissing Dissenters as those who "do not acknowledge the Catholicity of the English Church" and "do not seem to grasp the idea that although the Church is a national Church, it is not a national Church alone, but it is the Church of Christ, the Church of all races and all ages"—a mighty claim indeed, built up on a very little knowledge; the eighth part (carrying us to the root 𐤇𐤍𐤏) of the important *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*,² based on Robinson's Gesenius and edited by Professor Francis Brown, D.D., with the co-operation of Professors S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs—a work which needs no commendation; the ninth edition, revised and improved, of Weizsäcker's justly-valued and widely-accepted translation of the New Testament;³ a careful and sympathetic appreciation of Professor C. Weizsäcker by Professor Hegler of Tübingen⁴;

¹ London: Skeffington & Son, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 214. Price 5s.

² Part viii. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900. 4to, pp. 617-704. Price 2s. 6d.

³ *Das Neue Testament übersetzt.* Von Carl Weizsäcker, D.Th. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 458. Price 3s. net.

⁴ *Zur Erinnerung Carl Weizsäcker.* Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 69. Price 1s. net.

an instructive and somewhat detailed exposition of Bismarck's relations to Religion and the Church, by Professor Otto Baumgarten of Kiel,¹ given largely in Bismarck's own words, and bringing out among other things his dislike of the English Sunday; a similar estimate of Goethe's relation to Religion and Christianity by Professor Karl Sell of Bonn,² exhibiting in concise and forcible terms the poet's attitude to the great questions of faith at different periods of his career; an edition of the Bible with the special designation of the "Christian Edition,"³ prepared by Mr. T. K. Starley on the plan of taking the New Testament first and the Old Testament second in order, with an "Apology" offering reasons for this reversal of the usual arrangement; an interesting little volume on *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*,⁴ by Mr. F. Crawford Burkitt, Trinity College, Cambridge, consisting of two lectures delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, which deal in a scholarly and instructive way with the creed of Aphraates, the Sacraments in Aphraates, Bardesanes' *De Fato* and the *Acts of Judas Thomas*.

We have to notice also a very readable and opportune biographical sketch of *Field-Marshal Lord Roberts*,⁵ by Horace G. Groser; *The Rights of War and Peace*,⁶ by Hugo Grotius, being the Prolegomena to Grotius's *De Jure belli et pacis*, a statement of great historical interest and great intrinsic value, now republished as No. 101 of the *Old South Leaflets*; a suggestive and well-written volume, by John M. McCandlish, W.S., on *Personal Character and Business Life*,⁷ full of ad-

¹ *Bismarck's Stellung zu Religion und Kirche*. Tübingen, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 127. Price 1s. 9d. net.

² *Goethe's Stellung zu Religion und Christentum*. Vortrag mit Erläuterungen. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 104.

³ London: The Sabbath School Supply Co.

⁴ Cambridge: University Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 89. Price 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price 1s. net.

⁶ Old South Meeting House, Boston, Mass.

⁷ Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 95. Price 1s. net.

mirable counsel for young men; a collection of *Sermons for Children*,¹ by the late Thomas Sadler, Ph.D., delivered originally at Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead, on familiar themes such as "Christ and the Little Children," "The Young Samuel," "The Captive Hebrew Maid," etc., but fresh and interesting; a second and thoroughly revised edition of the Commentary on *Psalms and Proverbs*,² in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, a very useful and scholarly book, which we are glad to see making its way among students; *The Bramble King*,³ a contribution to the tasteful *Helps Heavenward* series, consisting of a series of brief, telling, suggestive expositions of certain Old Testament parables, by Mark Guy Pearse; a clear, concise, and instructive analysis and appreciation of Martineau's *Study of Religion*,⁴ by Richard A. Armstrong, forming volume xviith of the series of *Small Books on Great Subjects*; a third edition of *Thoughts Through the Year*,⁵ by J. E. A. Brown, a series of sonnets of considerable merit, suggested by the collects; *The Class and the Desk*,⁶ a manual of preparation for Sunday School teaching, full of matter which should help those engaged in such work; a pamphlet on *Hymns and Hymn Writers*,⁷ by B. S. Olding, in which some good remarks will be found both on the general question of the place of hymnody in worship, and on some particular classes of hymns; *The Biblical Museum*, vol. x.,⁸ by James

¹ London: James Clarke & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 214. Price 3s. 6d.

² *Die Psalmen und die Sprüche Salomos übersetzt und ausgelegt.* Von Lic. Hans Kessler und Dr. Hermann L. Strack. München: Beck, 1899, pp. xx. + 302, and vii. + 104. Price M.6.

³ London: C. H. Kelly, 1900. Demy 16mo, pp. 147. Price 1s. 6d.

⁴ London: James Clarke & Co., 1900. Pott 8vo, pp. 115. Price 1s. 6d.

⁵ London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Pp 86.

⁶ New Testament Series: Gospels and Acts. By the Revs. James Comper Gray and Charles Stokes Carey. London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 293. Price 1s. net.

⁷ London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 4d.

⁸ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 384. Price 1s. net. The whole series of 15 vols. is now to be had for 15s.

Comper Gray, giving a running commentary on Daniel and the minor prophets, with an abundance of homiletic and illustrative matter carefully selected with a view to the needs of ministers, Bible students, and Sunday School teachers; a second and thoroughly revised edition of Dr. Colin Campbell's *The First Three Gospels in Greek arranged in Parallel Columns*,¹ a useful book, following the text of Tischendorf's eighth edition; *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria*,² collected and edited with scholarly carefulness and skill by P. Mor-dant, M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge, and enriched by a valuable Introduction by F. C. Burkitt, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, being vol. v., No. 5, of the excellent series of Texts and Studies, edited by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson.

An excellent biography of the late Prof. Calderwood comes to us from the hands of his son and the Rev. David Woodside.³ It will be received with satisfaction by a wide circle of personal friends, by many good men in the Scottish Churches, his own and others, by the numerous body of students who were trained under him, and by all interested in the history of philosophy in Scotland. Henry Calderwood is one whose career deserves to be remembered. At an unusually early age he achieved distinction. When only twenty-four years old he wrote his *Philosophy of the Infinite*, in which he subjected the ideas of his master, Sir William Hamilton, and Dean Mansel to a searching criticism, asserting that we can have a real, though partial knowledge of an infinite object, and vehemently assailing the position that God is unknown and unknowable. For many years he occupied a prominent position as an advocate of a philosophy which aimed at maintaining the rights of reason in the things of religious faith

¹ London, Edinburgh and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 223. Price 5s. net.

² Cambridge University Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. xix. + 64. Price 4s. net.

³ *The Life of Henry Calderwood, LL.D., F.R.S.E.*, by his son and the Rev. David Woodside, B.D. With a special chapter on his philosophical works by A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 447. Price 7s. 6d.

and life, and by his writings as well as his professional teaching he won a good name and great influence in America as well as at home.

The *Life* is the composition of two different hands, those of his son and his son-in-law. But it is a unity, nevertheless, and it is well done. Each of the two writers does his part with sound judgment and in an interesting way. The result is a telling picture of one who held for many years a distinguished place in the academic, ecclesiastical, and public life of Scotland. We have a vivid account of Dr. Calderwood's early career, his labours in his Glasgow pastorate, his long and useful occupancy of the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, the part which he took in the counsels of the Church of which he was a devoted member, his activity in the charitable and political movements of the time. We get also a just and discriminating estimate of his contributions to literature. The value of the book is made the greater by the important chapter on his philosophical works which comes from the pen of his colleague, Professor Pringle-Pattison.

*Chalmers on Charity*¹ is the title given to a selection of passages and scenes to illustrate the social teaching and practical work of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. The idea is a happy one, and it has been carried out in a very effective way by one who has had large experience of charity work, Mr. N. Masterman, M.A., for eighteen years a member of the London Charity Organisation Society, and sometime guardian in the parish of Kensington. The book will be of much use. Few men of our century have had the claim to be heard that Thomas Chalmers has in the matters in question. By some of the most eminent authorities on social and economic questions, he is accorded the first place in the line of the great thinkers and workers in those fields in the nineteenth century. The advice given to aspiring students by some of the most recognised teachers is this—begin with

¹ Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 414. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Chalmers. The book is a real boon. If a still cheaper issue of it could be prepared, the service would be all the greater. It is a book that all should read who have their eye on the problems of the new century.

In his *Outlines of Christian Dogma*,¹ Mr. Darwell Stone, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College, aims at giving, with as little of the controversial as possible, a "clear and systematic idea of the chief tenets of the faith," and he seeks to do this in a way to meet the needs of those who are not students of technical theology. He begins with a chapter on the "Approach to Dogma," and proceeds thereafter to deal in succession with the doctrines of the nature and attributes of God, the Trinity, Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection and Ascension, the Nature of the Church, the Teaching Office and the Sanctifying Office of the Church, the operation of Grace and the Last Things. The standpoint is that of High Anglicanism. The influence of that is felt, as might be expected, in what is said of the Church. The construction of Christian doctrine is generally conservative. In some things it reminds one of Canon Liddon's ways. The book gives evidence of wide and careful reading. It is sober in spirit and presents a good view of the type of theology which it represents.

The "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" is enriched by a commentary on *The Book of Daniel*² by Professor S. R. Driver. It is superfluous to say that it is a valuable addition to the series. Characterised throughout by exact scholarship and careful criticism, it provides the student precisely with what he needs, both in Introduction and in Notes. In the work of the Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, we see the principles of the higher criticism applied faithfully and soberly, free from the fanciful subjectivity which goes with it in so many scholars in England as well as in Germany. The questions of authorship and

¹ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 351. Price 7s. 6d.

² Cambridge: University Press, 1900. Extra fcp. 8vo, pp. cvi. + 215. Price 2s. 6d. net.

date receive full and judicious treatment. It is shown that a number of distinct and independent considerations taken from history, language and the ideas of Daniel, point to the conclusion that the book cannot have been written before B.C. 300, and that there are "grounds which, though they may not be regarded as *demonstrative* except on the part of those who deny all predictive prophecy, nevertheless make the opinion a highly *probable* one that the book is a work of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes".

The series known as the "Kerr Lectures," founded in connexion with the United Presbyterian Church, has obtained an honourable name. Previous volumes by Professor Orr, Dr. Kidd and Dr. Forrest, have been recognised as important contributions to their subjects. The Lectures for 1900 are now published, and they too will take a good place in the theological literature of Scotland. They are by the Rev. Robert J. Drummond, B.D., and have for their subject *The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ*.¹ Mr. Drummond has been happy in the selection of his topic. It is one that has been attracting attention for some time, and one on which there is something to say. In the engrossments of a heavy city charge Mr. Drummond has snatched time to read carefully and discerningly. He is master of a good style. Now and then it tends to drop into the free and easy, but it is often artistic, and always clear, direct and agreeable.

Mr. Drummond has a good grasp of the method and bearings of his inquiry, and writes in the manner of one who understands what Biblical theology is. He handles his subject in the historical spirit, and makes little of the dogmatic and less of the controversial aspects of the questions with which he deals. He places the teaching of the Apostles in its proper relations to that of our Lord, and helps us to see for ourselves the justice of his exposition of these relations by setting the two sets of ideas side by side. There is a very good statement of the general features of our Lord's teach-

¹ Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 432. Price 10s. 6d

ing, its main points, its historical connections, its purpose and circumstances, etc. Among the best chapters is one on the great terms "Son of Man" and "Son of God". That on "The Activities of the Exalted Christ" has some points of fresh interest, and contains much that is suggestive. Mr. Drummond's general conclusions are expressed in these terms—fundamental and widespread agreement, no fixity of terminology, special emphasis on one side of truth not implying divergence from those left unnoticed, and development a feature in the presentation of Christian teaching. He claims for the Apostles perfect loyalty to Christ's teaching and absolute subordination to Himself. But he holds it legitimate also to recognise the authority of the Apostles and their teaching—a derived, not an original authority, but ranking close "behind His own, just because of their nearness to the primal source, of the vividness which still remained of the impression of Himself as He was known on earth, and of the immediate quickening of their spiritual understanding by the entrance of the Divine Enlightener, the Holy Spirit, whom Christ had promised for the very purpose of leading them into all truth". These are just conclusions, and the book as a whole does much credit to the author.

The reports of two important conferences recently held on doctrinal questions are given to the public. They form instructive records of two interesting occasions on which representative theologians, belonging to different Churches or parties, met together with the view of endeavouring to understand each other's positions and discovering how far agreement existed or might be effected. One of these has the title, *Different Conceptions of Sacrifice and Priesthood*,¹ and is edited by Professor Sanday of Oxford. It gives the record of a conference held at Oxford, 13th and 14th December, 1899, in which the High Church section of the English Church was represented by Father Puller, Canon Gore,

¹ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xix. + 173. Price 7s. 6d.

Canon Scott Holland, Professor Moberly and the Rev. C. G. Lang; the other sections of the same Church by Dr. Sanday (the chairman), Archdeacon Wilson, President H. E. Ryle (now Bishop designate of Exeter), Canon Bernard of Salisbury and the Rev. A. C. Headlam; while English Nonconformity was represented by Dr. Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Mr. Arnold Thomas of Bristol and the Rev. Dr. Peter Forsyth of Cambridge; Wesleyanism by Professor W. T. Davison of Handsworth; and Presbyterianism by Dr. Salmond of Aberdeen. The discussions were frank and friendly. They were undoubtedly of service in many ways, especially in removing misconceptions due to the use of inexact theological terms. The other volume gives the report of a *Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900*,¹ and is edited by Dr. Henry Wace. This Round-Table Conference, as it was called, was limited to those belonging to the Church of England. In addition to the chairman, Dr. Wace, the following clergymen and laymen, representing different parties in the Church, were members of it, *viz.*: Dr. W. H. Barlow, Professor H. E. I. Bevan, Dr. C. Bigg, Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, the Rev. N. Dimock, Canon Gore, Viscount Halifax, Professor Moule, Canon Newbolt, Principal A. Robertson, Canon Armitage Robinson, Canon Sanday, Dr. P. V. Smith and the Earl of Stamford. No definite resolution was agreed to, but the contending views on the mystery of Christ's presence in the Eucharist were fully explained and discussed. Some approach at least was made to the removal of ambiguities and to a better understanding of the precise points of agreement and difference. Both books will repay careful study.

We are indebted to the author of the *Life of Cardinal Manning*, which caused such stir some time ago, for another book which sheds some light on the history of recent ecclesiastical movements in the Church of England—the *Life and*

¹ *The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. net.

*Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle.*¹ The fault of the book is its great size. But it contains much that is of interest and some things that are not altogether pleasant surprises, with regard to the methods and inner history of the extreme Anglican party. De Lisle himself is regarded by some as the real author of the Ritualistic development of Anglicanism, and his career was a singular one. Brought up under evangelical influences and looking on the Pope as Antichrist, he nevertheless underwent so great a change in his religious dispositions and views that he was baptised into the Roman Catholic Church at the early age of fifteen, and he continued a devoted, not to say enthusiastic, member of that communion. He was the head and untiring promoter of the enterprise known as the "Corporate Re-union Movement between the Churches of England and Rome," and was a munificent friend of Roman Catholic causes. His diary and the correspondence which passed between him and men like John Henry Newman, Montalembert, Lacordaire and others are of great interest. The volumes deserve the attention of all students of the Tractarian movement and Roman Catholic policy in England.

Professor Burnet of St. Andrews provides us with an edition of the *Ethics of Aristotle*.² which will take a high place among books of its kind. The introduction contains valuable dissertations on the Nicomachean and Eudemian Ethics, the composition and style of the Ethics, and the various commentaries, as also on Practical and Theoretical Science, Ethics and Politics, the Method of Science, First Principles, Dialectics, the Final Cause, and the Platonic and Aristotelian Teleology. The statements on Final Cause and the forms of Teleology, are of very special interest. The great ethical

¹ By Edmund Sheridan Purcell. Edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle. In two volumes. London: Macmillan, 1900. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 422 and 382. Price 25s. net.

² *The Ethics of Aristotle*, edited with an introduction and notes, by John Burnet, M.A., Professor of Greek in the United College of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, St. Andrews. London: Methuen & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. lii. + 502. Price 15s. net.

discussions are then given in the Greek Text, with numerous explanatory notes which go into all necessary questions of text, grammar, interpretation and history. There is also a full and most useful index, for which students will be grateful.

Professor Burnet has applied to his task the resources of a wide and penetrating scholarship, especially in the Platonic literature and in the products of the Middle and New Comedy. He has his own views on the questions which are most controverted. These are set forth with great ability and deserve careful consideration. He uses the Eudemian Ethics as the best commentary on the Nicomachean. The idea of *λόγος* as "rule," not as "reason," he carries rigorously out, as if it admitted of no exception. He holds that Aristotle's own psychology and moral philosophy are to be found not in these treatises but in the *De Anima* and the *Physics*. It is here that the most distinctive note of Professor Burnet's book appears. The view that considerable portions of the Ethics are of a purely dialectical character receives at his hands the widest possible extension. He regards the discussions as giving all through, not Aristotle's own ideas or arguments but the opinions and contentions of others, especially those of Plato and his followers in the Academy. It is in this general theory and in some of the applications made of it that Professor Burnet's stimulating volume will most provoke criticism.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

- GIGOT, F. E. General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scriptures. In 3 vols. Vol. I. New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. ii. + 606. \$2.
- RAMBAUD, E. Le Premier Esaïe; étude d'histoire et de théologie. Cahors: Coueslant. 8vo, pp. 116.
- WINCKLER, H. Völker u. Staaten des alten Orients. 3. Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellgn. 2. Tl. Die Legende. Leipzig: E. Pfeiffser. 8vo, pp. viii. + 300. M.9.
- HIRSCH, M. Die 12 Propheten, übers. u. erläutert. (In deutscher u. hebräischer Sprache.) Frankfurt a. M.: A. J. Hofmann. 8vo, pp. v. + 536. M.6.
- LÖHR, M. Geschichte des Volkes Israel, in 8 Vorträgen dargestellt. Strassb: K. J. Trübner. 8vo, pp. vii. + 168. M.4. Karten. M.2.
- BERNFELD. Der Talmud. Sein Wesen, seine Bedeutg. u. seine Geschichte. Berlin: S. Calvary & Co. 8vo, pp. iv. + 120. M.1.20.
- FAURE, E. La Sagesse divine dans la Littérature didactique des Hébreux et des Juifs. Montauban: impr. Granié. 8vo, pp. 73.
- MEINHOLD, J. Die "Lade Jahves". Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 45. M.1.50.
- LÖHR, M. Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos. Giessen: J. Ricker. 8vo, pp. vii. + 51. M.2.50.
- SELLIN, E. Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil. i. u. ii. Leipzig: A. Deichert Nachf. 8vo, pp. iv. + 302 and iv. + 199. M.11.

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- BESTMANN, H. J. Entwicklungsgeschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem alten u. neuen Bunde an der Hand e. Analyse der Quellen. ii. Leipzig: Dietrich. 8vo, pp. viii. + 446. M.9.

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- BOSCAWEN, W. St. Chad. The Creative Power of the Divine Word and Name. *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, VIII., 12.
- JASTROW, Professor Morris, junr. The Fourteenth Chapter of Genesis and Recent Research. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1900.
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- CONDAMIN, A. Le Récit babylonien du Déluge. *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique*. No. 7-8.
- FRIES, S. A. Jesu Vorstellungen von der Auferstehung der Toten. *Ztschr. für die neuest. Wiss. und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, I., 4.
- WENDLAND, Paul. Zur ältesten Geschichte der Bibel in der Kirche. *Ztschr. für die neuest. Wiss. und die Kunde des Urchristentums*, I., 4.
- ENDEMANN, K. Zur Frage über die Brüder des Herrn. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, XI., 11.

II.—NEW TESTAMENT.

- CONRADY, L. Die Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichte Jesus. Ein wissenschaftl. Versuch. Göttin-

- gen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. x. + 342. M.8.
- BORDREUIL, P. La Personne de Jésus-Christ dans les Évangiles. Montauban: impr. Granié. 8vo, pp. 87.
- WHELDON, T. J. The Holy Spirit; Studies in the fourth Gospel. London: D. O'Brien Owen. 8vo, pp. 302. 3s. 6d.
- JESUS als Lehrer. Von H. U. B. O. (G. Hubo). Berlin: Th. Fröhlich. 8vo, pp. 116. M.1.20.
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The Present Position of Critical Opinion on the Book of Daniel.

THE present time seems opportune for a statement on this subject. Nowhere in the realm of Old Testament study has the science of historical criticism reached conclusions which are more generally accepted by scholars of all shades of opinion ; and, on the other hand, there is perhaps no book in the Bible which affords a better opportunity of testing the possibility of adjusting the old faith to the new situation. Daniel in the lion's den, the three children in the fiery furnace, the impious king trembling before the mysterious handwriting on the wall, have been familiar to us from our childhood. It is easy to understand the feelings of those who are jealous of even the appearance of an attempt to take away the value of narratives which have appealed so powerfully to the imagination of many generations. But it is well to remember that it is neither safe nor honest to hold opinions simply because we should like them to be true, or to assume, without examination, that the cable of tradition will hold fast under any strain that may be put upon it. In studying Scripture in general, and the book of Daniel in particular, we are in a world so different from that around us every day that it is imperatively necessary for us to keep a perfectly open mind, and, however strange some of the literary devices we encounter may appear to our Western habits of thought, to learn not to turn away in impatience as if the product of such processes must be worthless, and the men who employed them dishonest or dupes. Above all, we must be on our guard against seeking to save the reputation of Scripture, where we imagine that to be necessary, by methods we should hesitate to adopt elsewhere. A mistaken zeal for what they supposed to be the honour of God led Job's three friends far astray, and brought upon these apologists for the Almighty the scathing rebuke of the sufferer : " Will ye speak what is wrong and

talk deceit out of partiality for God? Will ye respect His person, will ye stand up for God? . . . He will surely reprove you if ye do secretly show partiality" (Job xiii. 7 ff.). These words have often recurred to the mind of the present writer in treading the difficult path of Old Testament study. They call us imperatively to pause whenever we are tempted to resort to special pleading or to strain the evidence in order to evade conclusions that are unwelcome.

It is undeniable that the *prima facie* impression produced by reading the book of Daniel is that its first six chapters are meant in the most literal sense to be a narrative of actual occurrences, and its last six to be no less a record of actual visions beheld and predictions uttered. Nay, the book is evidently put forward as the work of Daniel himself. Of some of the visions we are expressly told that the account was written down by him, and as, in spite of a few attempts that have been made to prove the contrary, it may be regarded as certain that the book is a unity, the same conclusion holds implicitly of the narrative portions as well, *i.e.*, they too are ascribed to the hand of one Daniel, a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar. It is well known, of course, that our book is written partly (i.-ii. 4*a*, viii.-xii.) in Hebrew and partly (ii. 4*b*-vii.) in Aramaic, but this difference of language (of which no perfectly satisfactory explanation has yet been offered) does not appear to have anything to do with difference of authorship. Again, the variety of dates to which the visions in chapters vii.-xii. are assigned, may possibly indicate that the author composed the book in instalments, separated by varying periods of time, but does not militate in the least against a single authorship.

The literary critic has learned, however, that it is not always safe to trust appearances, and the opinion may be said to be now practically universal among scholars that the book of Daniel belongs not to the age of the close of the Babylonian empire, but to the beginning of the Maccabæan period. There must be strong reasons in favour of a conclusion which has commended itself to such a variety of minds. It is easy enough to understand how an older

generation of Biblical scholars, including such honoured names as that of Dr. Pusey, should have considered it their duty to resist to the utmost any such conclusion, as militating against the religious value of the book. It is with a little sadness, but with no surprise, considering the time when he lived, that we read these sentences in Dr. Pusey's *Daniel*: "The book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battle-field between faith and unbelief. It admits of no half-measures. It is either Divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is, in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. But the case as to the book of Daniel, if it were not his, would go far beyond even this. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought. In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the name of God." It is a simple matter to disparage Dr. Pusey for giving utterance to such sentiments, but it would have been a marvel if he had thought differently. And if we consider his position untenable, and believe that we have learned a more excellent way than Dr. Pusey, it is only reasonable to ask that we should deal patiently with those who still cling to ancient tradition, and that we should exhibit the same reverence for Scripture as was shown by that great scholar. It is worthy of note in this connexion that Dr. Driver, the present occupant of Dr. Pusey's chair, has recently published in the Cambridge Bible Series a work on *Daniel*, which all competent judges who have read it will admit to be the equal of his predecessor's work in learning, painstaking research and reverence, while most will feel that it brings a sense of reality and appeals to them with a force to which the older work is a stranger. No better model, indeed, for the tone of religious controversy could be desired than is found in Dr. Driver's book.

Increasing study of the Old Testament itself, and especially of the extra-canonical literature of the Jews, has done away with Dr. Pusey's short and sharp way of settling the question,

and has placed us in a position to form a juster judgment. We have learned, in short, to see in the book of Daniel a Jewish Apocalypse ; and the study of Apocalyptic Literature, it is not too much to say, has done more within the last few years to clear up the meaning of Daniel in the Old Testament and of the book of Revelation in the New Testament than was accomplished for those books in the course of all the preceding centuries. From being the despair of serious students, from being the happy hunting-ground of fanciful exegesis, from being the armoury whence rival Churches have in turn drawn weapons wherewith to assail one another, these books have come to be amongst the simplest in the Bible, and have proved once more to be what they were at first, but afterwards ceased to be, profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.

As in the case of every ancient literary work that has come down to us, there is both external and internal evidence to be taken into account in fixing the date of Daniel.

A. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

(1) *The Place of the Book in the Canon.*—The second of the divisions of the Hebrew Canon, the Prophets, was probably not closed till near B.C. 200. In any case it was certainly open long after 536, the third year of Cyrus. How then comes it that the book of Daniel is placed not amongst the Prophets but in the third category, amongst the Writings, the list of which was not fixed till about the Christian era, or, at earliest, say about B.C. 100 ? The explanation is simple enough if the book dates from the Maccabæan period. It could not be included in the Canon of the Prophets because it was not in existence when that Canon was closed.

(2) *Allusions in other Literature.*—Nothing can be built upon Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3. The first two of these passages read : “ Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God ” ; the third, “ Behold thou art wiser than Daniel ; there is no secret hid from thee ”. It is impossible, upon any view, that Ezekiel can refer in the

first two passages to Daniel's fidelity which led to his being cast into the den of lions, for that event, according to the book of Daniel itself, happened after the conquest of Babylon, *i.e.*, about B.C. 538, nearly sixty years after the date of Ezekiel's prophecy (594). Again, the expression "thou art wiser than Daniel" (penned B.C. 588) suggests that the prophet has in view an ancient patriarch and sage rather than a younger contemporary of his own. We may compare Jer. xv. 1, "though Moses and Samuel stood before me". But not to press this argument, it is clear in any case that the language of Ezekiel proves nothing as to the existence of a *book* of Daniel. Again, it is surely strange that this book, if it was in existence as early as about B.C. 536, should have left no trace of its influence upon the post-exilic prophetic literature. How differently the case stands with books like Jeremiah, whose influence is so marked upon his successors. Neither is there any allusion to Daniel in Ben Sira's "praise of famous men" (written *circa* B.C. 200), which names Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets. Though this is an argument *e silentio*, its force is very great, seeing how full is the catalogue given of Israel's worthies. It is hardly conceivable that Ben Sira, had he known the book of Daniel, could have written; "Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph" (Sir. xlix. 15), especially in view of the close parallels between the story of Joseph and that of Daniel.

The first clear reference to Daniel is in the Sibylline Oracles (iii. 388 ff.), dating *circa* B.C. 140. The next is in 1 Mac. ii. 59-60 (*circa* B.C. 100), where Mattathias alludes to the deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, as well as to that of Daniel. Josephus, of course, refers to the book, although his knowledge of its contents appears to be rather vague; and his story about its having been shown to Alexander the Great by the high priest Jaddua, is now universally recognised to be a fiction. In the New Testament the only allusion to Daniel is in Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14 ("the abomination of desolation"), but the influence of the book is very marked, especially in the Apocalypse.

So much for the *external* evidence. We find no clear reference to the book prior to *circa* B.C. 140.

B. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

(1) It has been pointed out that the book contains no allusion to certain events which we should have expected to interest deeply *a Jewish contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus*; e.g., the captivity of King Jehoiakim, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, the Edict of Cyrus and the Return. The force of this argument will be best appreciated if we contrast the interest evinced by Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the history of their time. But, more important,

(2) Such allusions as do occur are frequently incorrect.

(a) There was no siege and capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 605). The testimony of Jeremiah and of the Books of Kings is decisive on this point. Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judah was subsequent to, and could only have been subsequent to, the battle of Carchemish the following year (604).

(b) Belshazzar is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and King of the Chaldæans. Both these statements are wrong. Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach, and he by the short-reigned Neriglissar and Laborosoarchod, after which Nābūnāid (Nabonidos), a usurper, seized the throne. Nābūnāid was the last king of the Chaldæans; his son Belsarutzur, probably the same as the Belshazzar of Daniel, is named on numerous contract-tablets, but always by the semi-technical title "the king's son," the equivalent of the modern "crown prince". However important a personage Belshazzar was, then, and he does seem from all accounts to have been more energetic than his father Nābūnāid, *he was never king, and neither he nor his father had any blood relationship to Nebuchadnezzar.*

(c) "Darius the Mede" is a personage for whom there is no room in history. We have an account of the conquest of Babylon in contemporary records drawn up *by both the contending parties*, Nābūnāid and Cyrus, and we learn that this conquest was the work of Cyrus. Darius the Mede cannot be identified with Xenophon's Cyaxares II., who is himself merely a figure of romance, nor, as Mr. Pinches proposes,

with such a subordinate of Cyrus as Gubaru (Gobryas) who played a prominent part in the capture of Babylon. To the writer of Daniel, Darius the Mede is not only the conqueror of Babylon but "king" in the most absolute sense. Nothing could show this more clearly than his words: "This Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (Dan. vi. 28). In all probability the writer of Daniel had a confused recollection of the fact that Darius Hystaspis in B.C. 521 re-conquered Babylon after it had revolted from his sway. This suggestion is supported by the circumstance that it was Darius Hystaspis who first divided the empire into a number of satrapies, just as Darius the Mede is said to have done in Daniel.

(d) The use of the word "Chaldæans" as the name of a *learned caste* and not of a *nation* is a decided indication of lateness. Professor Schrader, one of the very highest authorities, writes: "(This sense) is unknown to the Assyrian-Babylonian language; has, wherever it occurs, formed itself after the end of the Babylonian Empire, and is thus an indication of the post-exilic composition of the book". In like manner Professor Sayce, a witness who is certainly not prejudiced *against* traditional opinions, declares: "It is a sense which was unknown in the age of Nebuchadnezzar or Cyrus, and its employment implies not only that the period was long past when Babylonia enjoyed a political life of its own, but also that the period had come when a Jewish writer could assign to a Hebrew word a signification derived from its Greek equivalent. This last fact is of considerable importance if we would determine the age of the book of Daniel. . . . In the eyes of the Assyriologist this use of the word Kasdim would alone be sufficient to indicate the date of the work with unerring certainty" (*Monuments*, p. 535).

(3) The *language* of the book tells the same tale.

(a) It contains at least fifteen *Persian* words, and these occur not only in dealing with events or institutions subsequent to Cyrus' conquest of Babylon, but come in in the most matter of course fashion in connexion with purely Babylonian history. Now it has been pointed out by Dr. Driver that

the language of the contract-tablets, etc., which have come down to us from the age of Nebuchadnezzar, shows *no trace of Persian admixture*, and he argues forcibly that the language of Israel was still less likely to have been so influenced.

(b) But, even more extraordinary upon the traditional view of its authorship, the book contains at least three *Greek* words: *κίθαρς* (in the form *kítharos*), *ψαλτήριον* (in the form *psanterín*), and *συμφωνία* (in the form *šūmpōnyah*). While the first of these is an ancient Greek word, found in Homer, and might conceivably have found its way to Babylonia by B.C. 536, the second occurs first in Aristotle, and the third in Plato. Even so brilliant a theorist as Professor Margoliouth has not succeeded in offering any plausible explanation of their occurrence in the Daniel of tradition.

(c) The Aramaic (often misnamed Chaldee) of the book belongs to the *Western* dialect, and, like the Aramaic of Ezra, is of the type spoken in and about *Palestine*. Now, at what period would a Jewish writer have been likely to write in Aramaic, and to assume that this language would be generally understood by his countrymen? Certainly not during the Exile or shortly after it. It used to be supposed that the Jews during the Captivity forgot their native Hebrew and adopted the Babylonian Aramaic of their conquerors. So far from this being the case, we know that, in the time of Nehemiah more than a century after the Return, Hebrew was still normally the language both of writing and of daily life. The Aramaic which Israel gradually adopted was not of the Babylonian form at all, but that spoken by their immediately surrounding neighbours, when they were once more settled in their own land. On the other hand, the language spoken at the court of Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar was certainly not Aramaic, although the author of Daniel appears to assume that it was in that language that the magicians and astrologers addressed the king. On this point, again, Professor Sayce has a claim to be heard, for it concerns a field of research that is quite his own. What then does he tell us? "Aramaic indeed had been spoken in Babylonia long before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, but it was spoken

by the Aramaic tribes who had settled there. It had also become to a certain extent the language of international trade, and it is very probable that it was commonly used as a means of intercourse with foreign populations. But *it would have been the last language to be spoken* at the court of a great Babylonian monarch by his native subjects, more especially by those who belonged to the learned class. The wisdom of Babylonia, including its astrology, its pseudo-science of omens, and its interpretation of dreams, was stored up in a literature which was written in the two old languages of the country—Semitic Babylonian and agglutinative Sumerian—and to have discarded them for the language of the trader and the conquered Aramaean would have been an act of sacrilege. Nor would Nebuchadnezzar and his courtiers have been likely to understand what was said. The statement, therefore, that the king of Babylonia was addressed by his native subjects in Aramaic proves that its author was unacquainted with the real language of the Chaldæans" (*ibid.*, p. 536).

As we hinted a moment ago, it must have been centuries after the Return before Aramaic became as familiar to the Jews as their native Hebrew. If then we assume, as we appear to be entitled to do, that the Aramaic of Daniel is from the author's own pen, and not a translation by some one else, we have once more a strong argument in favour of a late date for the book.

As to the *Hebrew* of Daniel, it is of the distinctly late type that followed the age of Nehemiah, being most nearly akin to that found in the books of Chronicles, Esther and Ecclesiastes. Such a competent authority as Dr. Driver declares: "The verdict of the language of Daniel is thus clear. The *Persian* words presuppose a period after the Persian Empire had been well established; the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits* a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander" (B.C. 332).

(4) The argument from the *theology* of the book is one that must not be pressed unduly; but, on the other hand, nothing is clearer than that there is a development of doctrine in the Old Testament and that some of the dogmas which approach

most nearly to the Christian standpoint arose late in the history of the Jewish Church. Now, it is undeniable, as Dr. Driver has pointed out, that the doctrines of the Messiah, of angels, of the resurrection, and of a judgment on the world, are taught with greater distinctness and in a more developed form in the book of Daniel than anywhere else in the Old Testament, and in a way that reminds us of the book of Enoch (*circa* B.C. 160-100).

(5) The *interest* of the book, which, explain it as one pleases, culminates in the relations subsisting between the Jews and Antiochus, makes it probable, in accordance with the whole analogy of Scripture, that the book belongs to this period. There is no known exception in the Old Testament to the rule that the prophets, even when their message deals with far distant days, have in view the needs of the people of their own day. They rebuke *their* sins, they comfort *their* sorrows, they strengthen *their* hopes, they banish *their* fears. But of all this there is not a trace in the book of Daniel, *if it was written under Cyrus*. Its message is avowedly for the time of the end, it is a sealed book till then. Our impression as to the Maccabæan date of the book is strengthened when we observe how it is only in dealing with this period that the author is either accurate or detailed; for the period that precedes we have seen that he is often misinformed; and for the period that follows the year 165, with almost the single exception of his prediction of the death of Antiochus, his language is vague and general.

Combining all these considerations, we do not hesitate to conclude not only that the book was written to strengthen and encourage the Jews in the dark troubled period of Antiochus' reign, but that it was *written by one who himself lived in that period*. Everything it contains, without exception, agrees with this supposition. The very first chapter of Daniel with its description of the abstinence practised by the Hebrew youths, must have appealed to men who were tortured for declining to eat swine's flesh. The refusal of the three children to worship the golden image in the plains of Dura, and the story of their marvellous deliverance, could

not fail to strengthen the resolution of those Jews who refused homage to the Abomination of Desolation (שְׁקִיץ מְשֻׁמֵּם), a characteristic transformation of (בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם), or altar to Zeus Olympius, which Antiochus had erected to his favourite deity on the altar of burnt-offering. Similar would be the lesson taught by the story of Daniel's persistence in prayer and of the reward of his fidelity. And how welcome also to down-trodden Jews to hear of how the mightiest monarchs and the greatest world-empires had perished before the breath of the Almighty, of how Nebuchadnezzar's pride had been humbled by his strange insanity; of how Belshazzar's impiety was punished by his defeat and death.

Now, it so happened that by the Maccabæan age a school of thought and a species of literature had been introduced by the scribes, which could be turned to excellent account by one who had the parenetic aims we have described. *Midrash* and *Haggādā*, which we already encounter in the books of Chronicles (*circa* B.C. 300), were in full bloom. These were edifying tales regarding ancient worthies, some of them being simply expansions of Old Testament narratives, some of them having a traditional basis, some of them simply creations of the imagination. Such tales, coupled with predictions put in the mouth of an ancient sage or saint, meet us at every turn in the Jewish Apocalypses, which began to be composed about this time, and of which Daniel is the earliest and one of the most notable illustrations. Such works are always pseudonymous. No longer was there any living prophet; a want that was deeply felt; but there was abundance of religious fervour, and a burning zeal for ancestral law and customs. The men who were possessed of literary gifts, despairing of a hearing if they wrote in their own name, addressed the people in the name of some authoritative messenger of God of a former age. The method is unquestionably a strange one, viewed from a Western standpoint, and raises a somewhat difficult psychological question. But, account for it as we may, it is a fact that a whole series of Jewish writers, of good character, with praiseworthy aims,

and evidently without the smallest consciousness of ill faith, put forward compositions of their own under an ancient name. We do not regard as a parallel to this the use of Moses' name in the Pentateuch; that belongs to a different category, the name of the traditional lawgiver being quite appropriately employed to sanction what were simply developments of his system. But we may find an analogue in a cognate field, that of the Hōkhma literature. It is difficult to read the book of Ecclesiastes without receiving the impression that its author, one of the latest in the Old Testament, intends to be taken for Solomon. Outside Scripture we have such well-known illustrations as the book of Enoch, the Apocalypses of Elijah and Zephaniah, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and many others. Long after the Old Testament and the inter-testamental periods the same practice continued to prevail. It is possibly illustrated within the New Testament itself (? the Second Epistle of Peter), and after the close of the New Testament Canon, Christian Apocalypses under ancient pseudonyms continued to be composed without scruple, down to the Middle Ages.

What, now, are we to hold as to the character of the narratives and the predictions contained in the book of Daniel? As to the latter, the answer, in view of the considerations we have adduced, must be that these are *for the most part* simply history written in the form of prediction. It may be regarded as certain that no other view than this will ever be established. There are, indeed, real predictions in the book, such as that about the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. But all these predictions concern the *proximate* future; there is no such thing as predictions four centuries beforehand about the battles and even skirmishes of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, or the jealousies of Greek kings and Roman consuls and ambassadors. It is surely no loss but in every way a gain to be relieved of the dead weight of having to support the predictive character of this part of the book. The Christian apologist should be deeply grateful to the historical critic for having set in its proper light what, upon the traditional theory, was more allied to heathen mantic than to Divine

prophecy. Such predictions are simply the unfailing stock-in-trade of all Apocalyptic writings, and once we have recognised this, we take no more offence at this literary device than we do at the predictions about the Augustan age which Vergil puts in the mouth of a sibyl or a sage of remote antiquity. No doubt, this literary form is capable of being misunderstood, especially by prosaic minds; we know that both Daniel and the Sibyl have been misunderstood. It is intelligible enough, too, that such pseudepigraphic pseudo-predictions should be felt to be somewhat repellent in the domain of Scripture, but *it is a fact* that they have found a place there, and we have to make the best of it unless we take the strong step of excluding such books from the Canon.

Regarding the narrative portions of the book it is more difficult to speak with certainty. Even if we should have to adopt the conclusion that there is no firm historical basis for the incidents recorded in the first six chapters, the book would not be thereby robbed of its value for edification. But, on the other hand, we have no reason to conclude that the *whole* story of Daniel was invented by the writer. There appears to us to be a close analogy here between the book of Daniel and the book of Job. Recent investigations have rendered it extremely probable that a popular book of Job preceded the present highly dramatical work. The folk-lore of Israel told of a Job whose trials were as severe as his patience was unique. In like manner the author of the book of Daniel was probably acquainted with oral traditions regarding an ancient sage and hero of the name of Daniel; nay, he may possibly even have had at his command a written source which told of this Daniel's wisdom and of his fidelity to God under very trying circumstances. In short, to put it plainly, if any one feels that as yet his faith would be seriously shaken if the story of the lions' den and the fiery furnace had to be given up, he is perfectly entitled, for aught that criticism can prove to the contrary, to hold to these narratives as *essentially true*, although there is no doubt, as we have seen, that the historical setting of them is incorrect.

That is a safe halting-place meanwhile, but it is safer still to aim at a faith which shall be independent of such support, and to discover a permanent value in the book, even if its historical basis should prove to be extremely slender. If the personages who figure in the pages of Shakespeare or Goethe exercise an influence as great as if they had been flesh and blood realities instead of being merely the creations of a poet's genius; if Dives and Lazarus and the Good Samaritan appeal to us as powerfully as if the incidents recorded of them had actually occurred, why should Daniel lose his moral influence if the narratives concerning him should have to be relegated to the realm of edifying *haggādā*? Or, to put it still more plainly, if fiction is a legitimate vehicle for conveying a moral lesson outside Scripture, is its use to be forbidden within it? Or may we conclude that God who of old time spoke by divers portions and in divers manners, who found a place in His Word for allegory and parable, and fable and drama, did not disdain to employ this literary device as well? Shall we presume to exclude a book from the Canon, if its contents should prove to be fiction instead of history? Are we to ignore a writer's purpose and miss the lessons he teaches, because the literary form he employs, and which is now found to have been common when he lived, is not what tradition had taught us to expect?

It will not be denied that the beauty and literary power of the book of Daniel remain unimpaired upon any theory of its origin. Why should it be otherwise with its moral influence? For ourselves, we have no difficulty in assenting to the view expressed in varying language by such scholars as Bevan and Driver, and Prince and Marti that the author's confidence that God can deliver His people in the darkest hour, his sublime hope in a Messianic age, his anticipation of some of the most important doctrines of the New Testament, are the essential elements in the book, and these are independent of its date or its literary form.

J. A. SELBIE.

The Ancient Catholic Church from the Accession of Trajan to the Fourth General Council (A.D. 98-451).

By Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of the New College. (International Theological Library.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xii. + 539. Price 12s.

PRINCIPAL RAINY has hitherto been more widely known as a maker than as a writer of Church History: but his *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, in reply to Dean Stanley, thirty years ago, and his *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine* gave ample evidence to the world of his gifts as an ecclesiastical historian. The volume before us will be welcomed not only on account of its high intrinsic value, but as an instalment substantially, we may assume, of what ministers of the Free Church have received from the author during his long and honourable tenure of the Chair of Church History in the New College. Not that the work is in any way less than up to date. On the contrary there is hardly a chapter which does not supply tokens of careful revision and supplementary labour, in the light of fresh research, recent criticism, or lately recovered "sources". But the book bears evidence, through an agreeable liveliness of style and occasional unconventionality in diction, of having been spoken, at least in part, to an audience.

The History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age having been overtaken by Prof. McGiffert of New York in an earlier volume of the International Theological Library, Principal Rainy's task begins with the close of the first Christian century, when the last surviving apostle had passed away. He divides his history into three main sections: (1) from the accession of Trajan in A.D. 98 to the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180; (2) from A.D. 180 to the Edict of Toleration in 313; (3) from A.D. 313 to the memorable Council of Chalcedon in

451. No subdivision of the period between A.D. 98 and 313 is quite satisfactory; any division sunders artificially materials which are naturally connected: but the author's arrangement, amid some obvious drawbacks, has the advantage of indicating the diverse character (speaking generally) of the intellectual controversies which engaged the Church before and after A.D. 180. Prior to that date the Church struggled with a philosophy which endeavoured to absorb Christianity; subsequently to A.D. 180 the Church, at least in her leading intellectual centres, evolved a philosophy of her own, and doctrinal disputation was thenceforth carried on within a more distinctly Christian sphere.

It is impracticable, within the limit of little more than 500 pages, to treat every event and question of the Ancient Church with fulness of detail. In the first section most attention is given to Organisation, Sacraments, the Apologists, Gnosticism and Montanism; in the second, to Theological Schools, and to Christian Life, Worship and Discipline; while in the third division, Doctrinal Controversies, Ecclesiastical Personages, and Monasticism occupy most space. No topic, however, is omitted, although the Persecutions are dealt with more succinctly than some readers would have desired; and, in the brief but comprehensive sketch of Missionary Extension, no room is found for any account of Gregory Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian Church, or of our own Ninian of Galloway.

Principal Rainy's work is far from being a mere chronicle of events, description of usages, and account of Church controversies. Its signal excellence lies in the fact that it is largely a philosophy of history. It aims at indicating and tracing the various tendencies and forces which successively manifested themselves during the period, and moulded the course of Church history. An interesting chapter at the close, entitled "Processes of Change," is specially characteristic; for the volume, as a whole, is a history of gradual movements, trends, and developments. In the department of ecclesiastical organisation, for example, the process is graphically described through which, in the second century,

the outstanding Presbyter, who preached or presided, arranged divine service, distributed charity, or "carried on communications with other churches or the civil authorities," gradually and naturally developed into a bishop in the post-New Testament sense (pp. 34-38). One realises, under the author's guidance, how needless is the assumption of any special apostolic institution of the mono-episcopate: *it grew*.

As regards worship, the stages are indicated through which, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the presentation of gifts developed into the offering of sacrifices; and then "the thought of offering or sacrifice was extended to the whole eucharistic service," until eventually "the Passion of Our Lord is the sacrifice which we offer," and the elements become, with increasing approach to literalness, "the body and blood of Christ" (pp. 77-79, 231-232, 442, 516). There is also an effective exhibition of the process through which, in the fourth century, after the entrance of a multitude of merely nominal Christians into the Church, "the tendency to popularise Christianity" led to a church service "more full and imposing"; to the adoption of "objects and modes of worship hitherto regarded as characteristic of paganism"; and to the "heroes venerated by pagan countries or cities" being "replaced (for Christians) by the martyrs who had overcome in the name of Christ," and to whom now "direct appeals to intercede for us" were made (pp. 441, 452-454).

In the intellectual sphere, the author shows how the tendency to seek salvation "through a deeper and truer view of Christianity," and the aspiration after "a purer and more spiritual example of Christ" developed, under the misguidance of a philosophy which identified evil with matter, into Docetism and Gnosticism (pp. 95-96). We have a lucid account, also, of the gradual entrance of Christianity, under better auspices, into relation with that intellectual culture from which at first it was estranged; and of the special manifestation of such Christianised culture, first in some of the earlier Apologies, whose aim is "to insist on the affinities between Christianity and Greek thought" (p. 91), and afterwards in the Alexandrian School, through which a Christian philosophy was developed,

a "true Gnosis" presented, and a "genuine Christianity set forth on grand lines of thought, few, sufficient, self-evidencing" (pp. 163-164). In the two consecutive chapters on "Christian Thought and Literature," and "Christ and God," there is an excellent presentation of those divergent tendencies of theological thought in the ante-Nicene Church (particularly the various phases of Logos doctrine, of Modalistic and of Dynamical Monarchianism) which led up inevitably to the great Arian controversy. Once more, to take examples of this exhibition of "processes" from the sphere of Church life, our modern experience of any new sect which has "broken in on a conventional or slumbering Christianity," when it reaches afterwards the stage at which "the bulk of its accessions are from the children of the members," is very aptly used by Dr. Rainy to illustrate the manner in which the *personnel* of the primitive Church gradually changed from being a body of members "who, as the result of inward conflict," had "broken with their old ways," into a mixed multitude containing "many who were in the Church, because they had been brought up to it," and were inclined to "worldly ease" and "relaxation of discipline". The inevitable issue, on the part of those who are "intensely loyal to all the old traditions," is such a Puritan movement as Montanism (pp. 132-136). There is an equally interesting description of the development of the ascetic life (which from an early period was "commended as eminent Christian virtue for its own sake") into "monastic holiness"; and the author enumerates and analyses with fine insight the "various motives which led men to monasteries," including the felt need of "self-punishment" and "ascetic pain to operate as expiating sin"; "emancipation from the world of sense," and the "supremacy of spiritual affections"; "the desire to test one's own sincerity," since "religion that goes too easy may be suspected"; the attraction of "methodism—a ruled-off way of being good, so plain and distinctive that one might rest in it"; and finally, in some cases, the lower inducement of a refuge for "those who could have found shelter nowhere else" (pp. 302-304).

To not a few readers, the most attractive portions of

Principal Rainy's work will be his sketches of "ecclesiastical personages". Origen, with his heroic youth, "adamantine" literary labours, and theological system, "the first scheme of ordered Christian thought which aims at method and completeness"; Tertullian, "combining in himself the Puritan and High Churchman, with even a touch of the Fifth Monarchy man thrown in"; Cyprian, in whom "the turbid fervour of Tertullian (his *Magister*) is replaced by dignity, sagacity and leadership,"—"trenchant and peremptory" in his assertion of the unity of the Church as embodied in an orthodox and authentic episcopate, "to break loose" from which "is to cut oneself off from Christianity and from salvation"; the "commanding personality" of Athanasius, whose "statesmanship sustained by faith" was even more conspicuous than his abundant "intellectual resource and skill" in the great controversy which occupied his life; Jerome, full of the "genuine enthusiasms of a scholar," but "with no claim to theological power," sincerely devout, yet with "a Christianity that leant to the shallow, the legal, and the external type"; Augustine, that "epoch-making religious genius," who, mainly through his full "realisation of Sin and Grace," "gave a new significance to Christian dogmas, and struck a deeper and truer note of Christian experience"; Chrysostom, whose "fine Greek culture and natural gift of oratory were inspired by Christian devotedness and sincerity," whose reforming zeal was united with a "certain irritability," but whom unmerited persecution, bravely borne, disciplined into "Christian humility and submission"—these and other notable portraits in the historical gallery of the Ancient Church are drawn with graphic touch and with discriminating sympathy.

A further leading feature of Principal Rainy's work is its liberal tone and judicial fairness in dealing with the heretics of the period. Thus while he points out the "fantastic" features and more serious errors of Gnosticism, he recognises "on closer consideration" that the Gnostic systems "embody ideas which cannot be lightly set aside" (p. 96). "Let it be emphasised that the Gnostics with whom we have

to do were Christians," inspired with the conviction that "in the Gospel they have found the centre of truth and life" (p. 98). "It may be true that the Gnostics had a livelier sense of a great deliverance than was cherished by a good many of the so-called orthodox" (p. 105). Regarding Marcion, in particular, whom Polycarp designated as "the first-born of Satan," Dr. Rainy agrees substantially with the estimate of Harnack, and finds "much reason to believe that his impressions were fundamentally Christian" (p. 121). Similarly Arianism is expounded and criticised with fair recognition of Arius's ascetic virtue and enthusiasm (p. 326), and of his belief in the Son as the source of existence to all beings lower than Himself (p. 323), and as the "only begotten God," "the object of faith and worship" (p. 338). The author does full justice, also, to those among the "Semi-Arians" so called, whom Gwatkin more fairly designates as theological "conservatives," and who opposed the Nicene Creed, not from any doubt as to the true Divinity of the Son, but because they preferred to maintain his Divinity "in language more safe and more approved than that of Nicæa; for they thought the latter to be capable of a Sabellian sense, and in any case too new" (p. 339). Again, while no sympathy is indicated with the Pelagian doctrine of human ability (apart from inwardly operating grace), full credit is given to Pelagius for the conviction that the assertion of such ability was "the obvious way to sweep aside the pretexts on which men excuse themselves, and to force them to face their obligations" (p. 470). Regarding Nestorius, Dr. Rainy emphasises the now generally admitted fact that this alleged heretic "had no fair trial on the merits" (p. 387); and he maintains that there is "no evidence that Nestorius held a doctrine of two persons after the Incarnation"; while, even if he did, "personality is an idea full of mystery," and the "heresiarch" may have meant no more than that each of the two natures of Christ must have "a certain *shadow* of personality, a spiritual identity of its own" (p. 385). The author sums up his criticism of the Christological controversy with the sound and charitable remark, which applies to many other doctrinal

disputations, "It may well be believed that many on both sides received all that Scripture clearly teaches, though with diverging emphasis on different elements". "Nor does it seem possible to do more," he continues, "since the very words which we must use—as Person and Nature—prove to be at best approximate, and refuse to be restrained by invariable definitions when we carry them from man to God, and from God to man" (p. 404). We rise from the perusal of these portions of the volume with the assurance that if we had the misfortune to undergo a trial for alleged heresy, we should meet with fair consideration if Principal Rainy were one of our leading judges!

The editors of the International Theological Library are to be congratulated on a volume which fully maintains the high reputation of their admirable series of manuals.¹

HENRY COWAN.

¹ A somewhat more careful revision of the Greek words used in the work is desirable, so as to remove such minor *errata* as κοινώβιον (p. 294), ἀναχωρητοί (p. 299), ὁμούσια (p. 337), ὁμοιούσια (p. 348).

Christianity in the Apostolic Age.

By G. T. Purves, D.D., Recently Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary. London : Smith, Elder & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 343, and Maps. Price 6s.

THIS is a book to which it is hard to be perfectly just. Its general acquiescence in traditional results, touching both literature and historical facts (such as the survival of the year 64 by Peter and Paul), is apt to blind the critic to the amount of fresh thinking and historical insight which it contains. The latter features are most apparent in his treatment of Judæo-Christianity, its various phases and the successive stages of its development in Judæa itself. Thus the picture drawn from the Epistle of James, viewed as prior to the conference at Jerusalem, and from Hebrews—reflecting the perplexities of the days shortly before the revolt from Rome for those whose conception of Christianity in relation to Judaism had not matured in the meanwhile—is most natural and convincing. Similarly, the *data* of a like order afforded by Acts, especially in its earlier chapters, are used with much sympathy and success, the controlling aim of its author being justly conceived and used in the reading of his narrative. The one notable exception here is the handling of the “Tongues” at Pentecost, though, even so, the phenomena of *glossolalia* are well stated. Favourable instances are afforded by the pages on the primitive Apostolic preaching (pp. 44 ff.); the *gradual* development of conflict with the authorities in Jerusalem (pp. 48 ff.); Stephen and his crucial significance for the deeper interpretation of Old Testament religion as fulfilled in Christ;¹ Paul’s conversion and its results. On the

¹ With Stephen “the first period of Apostolic Christianity had closed. The hope of the speedy conversion of the nation was extinguished. The consciousness of independence had been awakened in the disciples” (p. 55).

other hand, Dr. Purves holds fast to the old "North Galatian" theory in a way which shows little appreciation of the relative difficulties of the two views; and he quite fails to grasp the eschatological outlook of 2 Thess. ii., holding that the "falling away" is from within the Church, and not rather from Judaism, and in general not recognising the conventional lines of the Apocalyptic in both the Thessalonian epistles.

Perhaps the weakest part of the book is its treatment of the problem of Acts xv. and Gal. ii. 1-10. It makes the paradoxical statement that "the visit of Galatians was certainly a public and representative one," in face of the fact (1) that Paul speaks of no human initiative in the visit save his own, and (2) that he describes himself as expounding his gospel in Jerusalem "privately before them who were of repute," and the "false brethren," who opposed him, as "privily brought in" (sc. to his conference with the leaders), and as coming in "privily to spy out our liberty". Yet our author states that Gal. ii. 2-5, which contains these references (and none other) to persons present at the conference, "represents the Church as a whole as supporting his position"; while on the other hand he questions whether the whole Church is represented in Acts xv. as present at the deliberations ending in the decision of the Apostles and the Elders (in the teeth of the reference to the "multitude" as present, ver. 12). It is not as though it had been to the interest of Paul's argument to obscure the public character of what he regarded as the vindication at headquarters of the independence of his Gentile Gospel. Quite the contrary; and Dr. Purves does not even attempt to explain why, on his theory, Paul notices the understanding that he should remember the poor, but omits all reference to the four Abstinenances of Acts xv. 20, a point which his critics would be quick to lay hold of. Surely, too, it is most unlikely that Paul would be "still unknown by face to the Churches of Judæa" (Gal. i. 22) up to the time of his visit in Acts, after he had ministered the relief of the Antiochian Church to the Judæan Churches. For (1) it is an assumption un-

warranted by the text of Acts xi. 29 f., that it was only to the elders *in Jerusalem* that he conveyed alms (even though the reference to Jerusalem in xii. 25 should not be an interpolation, as the textual difficulty suggests). And (2) the nature of the context requires that the words of Gal. i. 22 mean virtually that Paul had not given any Judæan church the chance of knowing him, much less been instructed, in Judæa. He had not "shown his face" there at all. Similarly as regards Peter's visit to Antioch, he overlooks (1) that Peter, in eating with Gentiles, was only doing what he had done long *before*, Acts xv., in the case of Cornelius (action which he had justified when challenged, xi. 3, 17); and (2) that what Paul implies as the explanation of Peter's inconsistency, is not a recurrence of conscientious scruple but a temporary change of policy ("dissimulation"), to avoid criticism from stricter Jews than himself.¹

As samples, on the other hand, of just and thoughtful observations which often surprise one amid a good deal that is rather lacking in distinction, take the following: "The prophets were the living evidence of the continuance of the prophetic office of Messiah by whose Spirit they spake". Their "existence in the Apostolic Church testifies to the belief that it was an age of revelation": "so that 'on the foundation of the apostles and prophets' was the Church held to be established" (Eph. ii. 20). The mission of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xiii. 1 ff.) "was both a divine vocation and an enterprise of the Antiochian Church," "acting in the persons of the three *remaining* prophets and teachers who laid their hands upon the brethren". How much confusing talk about "orders" in this connexion is refuted in the single word we have placed in italics. "The most natural explanation" of the authoritative language of the letter in Acts xv. 24-29, "is that the eldership of Jerusalem [with the apostles at its head] was considered, by the Judaic Christians and by the mixed Churches of Syria which had

¹ Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 81) suggests that they had been sent by James to warn Peter to be discreet.

originated from Jewish missions, in much the same light in which the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem was by the Jews." "The directions about church officials," in the Pastorals, "are given not in the least for the purpose of advancing the power of any office . . . but to secure high character and faithful teaching in the officials already established." Our author's defence of the Pastorals as genuinely Pauline is distinctly good; yet he will not hear of their falling within the known life of Paul, and fails to see the serious objections to a date after the Neronian persecution, and to the occurrence of the reference to Trophimus (as left at Miletus) in a letter written from Rome to Timothy in the vicinity of Miletus. Other doubtful judgments are, the dating of 1 Peter from Babylon, after 64, and during Paul's lifetime; the acceptance of both the integrity and authenticity of 2 Peter (dependent on Jude); and the placing of all three Synoptics (the first by Matthew, perhaps both in Aramaic and Greek) in the seventh decade A.D.

Such things certainly tend to shake the reader's trust in his author's competence, and they have led some critics to overlook the real contributions to our knowledge of the Apostolic Age provided by this unpretentious yet well informed volume. It is simply and flowingly written; and but for its unusual inequality of value in different parts, is admirably adapted for the general reader. As it is, it would make a good textbook for a class of thoughtful lay students of the New Testament, under the guidance of a leader familiar with historical criticism. Dr. Purves was already known favourably to students of early Christianity by his conscientious and sober, rather than brilliant, book on *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity*, 1888. But the present book, written after eight years in the Chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary, makes one regret still more his comparatively early death, which occurred in the summer of last year.

VERNON BARTLET.

Kant's gesammelte Schriften.

*Herausgegeben von der Königlich. Akademie der Wissenschaften,
Band X., Zweite Abtheilung: Briefwechsel. Erster Band,
1747-1788. Berlin: George Reimer, 1900. 8vo, pp. xix.
+ 532. Price 10s.*

THE complete works of Kant edited and published by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin are now in an advanced state, and one is glad to know that the works of that illustrious thinker are accessible in a shape worthy of his great historic significance. The volume before us contains the correspondence of Kant and his friends from the year 1747 to the year 1788. It adds greatly to the interest as well as to the intelligibility of the letters of Kant, that we have also the letters of his correspondents, which supply the occasion of his letters. It is not possible to give a detailed account of all the topics discussed in these letters, nor to stay to identify his correspondents, nor to measure and weigh their historic importance. Perhaps the most important thing about them now is that they did correspond with Kant, and that he wrote letters to them. For as the years pass on Kant bulks larger and larger before the eyes of those who know. Almost every philosophical inquiry and almost every problem of philosophy dates from Kant, and no student of philosophy can afford to be ignorant of him and his work.

It is of the highest interest to read the words of the man, not merely in the pages of his books, but also in the less formal letters which he sent to his friends and acquaintances. They range in contents from the brief business epistle to the long letters in which he discusses and defends his views on cosmogony, or defends and illustrates his thesis that all arithmetical judgments are synthetic. There is a singular lack of what men may call the distinctively human interest

in these letters. No love, no courtship, no marriage, no trace of the great emotions, or the strong passions which so often dominate men, and lead so often to the tragedies of life. But there is emotion, and there is passion of a kind, but these are directed towards interests which lie far from the path which ordinary men tread. There is deep emotion in the letters which tell of the moment when the outline of the critical method of philosophy came into clear consciousness, and there is something sublime in the intensity of his feeling in the presence of the might and majesty of moral law. Kant had many interests, though these were not of the ordinary kind, and these interests appear in this correspondence.

We turn with special interest to the letters of Lambert and to the replies of Kant, partly because of their fine tone and spirit, and partly because they deal with a period of Kant's literary activity, and with a topic which has been thrust into the background by the epoch-making significance of the critical philosophy. L. Lambert was a distinguished mathematician and astronomer, and had published a work entitled *Cosmological Letters on the Arrangement of the Structure of the World*, and he writes to Kant on the similarity of their views. Lambert explains that he had not seen Kant's book, and expresses his gladness in finding his own views set forth with such power in the works of Kant. The correspondence is pleasant to read, and is highly creditable to both parties.

Coincidences of this kind have been the occasion of lasting and bitter controversy, and in some cases have become international. But Kant acknowledged that Lambert had worked independently, and both were gratified that their views had support each from the other. In the letters of Lambert we have a pretty full outline of a metaphysic which he was about to elaborate, and an offer to Kant to work together and to collaborate in the writing of a philosophy Kant politely declined.

There are interesting letters to and from Moses Mendelssohn, and to and from Herder, in which many topics are discussed in a somewhat cursory manner, but in which we

can trace some of the great thoughts of Kant in crude outline. But we cannot dwell on these. Nor can we dwell on the letters which refer to the *Critique of Pure Reason*, full of interest though these are. These letters find their proper place in an account of the life of Kant, and afford to the student of his philosophy something which helps to elucidate the genesis and evolution of the thought of Kant. It is well to have in this superb edition all the written words of the Master.

JAMES IVERACH.

Ethics, Descriptive and Explanatory.

By S. E. Mezes, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Texas. New York: The Macmillan Company. 8vo, pp. xix. + 435. Price 10s. 6d. net.

As stated in the preface the aim of this treatise is "to construct a positive or purely scientific theory of ethics, and to give a naturalistic account of all the aspects of morality and immorality, in so far, of course, as space limitations permit" (p. viii.). The author is so far aware that such an investigation will not exhaust the field of ethical study, nor deal with all the contents of ethics. He protests that he does not undervalue, or fail to recognise the need for a metaphysic of ethic. But he thinks that the phenomena of ethics may be studied apart from all metaphysical implications. "If science showed that morality is merely a human characteristic that enables the fittest to survive, just as protective blotches and animal appetites similarly aid their possessors, and if it showed that man himself is merely an ephemeral incident in the everlasting impact of atoms and eddying approach and crash of molar masses, then would man and morality with him be shown to be insignificant indeed from the cosmic point of view. From this point of view morality and man can be shown to be significant only if spiritual as well as physical facts can be brought to knowledge, indeed, only if the universe can be shown to be essentially spiritual, and so friendly to and appreciative of human morality" (pp. viii.-ix.). Professor Mezes thinks it is natural and proper to study morality in its setting as one of the comparatively familiar and accessible facts of human experience, before embarking upon the precarious enterprise of discovering its cosmical bearings. We are careful to use his own language in the statement of the problem he has in hand. We may

say that the reference to the cosmos is his, not ours. We would state it differently, and would express the infinite character of morality in another way.

Using his own language and phraseology we would raise the question, Can one study the phenomena of morality scientifically if the reference to the cosmic element is left out of account? Is he right in the assumption that metaphysics alone can give knowledge of spiritual facts? If the spiritual is an invariable element in all human experience, then no science which deals with the mental life of man can afford to neglect that element. And ethics can least of all afford to neglect spiritual facts, for these are the very breath of its life.

We should be glad to have an ethic descriptive and explanatory, but can an ethic be so which relegates all spiritual facts to the domain and the dominion of metaphysic? One of the presuppositions of a possible ethic is that we have to deal with the life and conduct of a being who is, in a measure at least, self-conscious, self-determined, capable of forming for himself an ideal of life, and so far able to carry it into effect. It does not help the matter to protest, as our author does, that he is not unfriendly to metaphysics, that he is prepared to welcome any rational attempt to indicate the cosmic worth of morality, for while he says this, he proceeds on the assumption that a sufficient scientific account of ethical phenomena can be given even after the cosmic reference is altogether ignored. Our contention is that a scientific description of morality must include all the facts with which morality is conversant whatever these facts may be.

The book is not what, from a careful perusal of the preface, we expected it to be. The author has not respected the limitations he laid down in the preface. He has included the spiritual facts; indeed, he could not leave them out. He seems ever and anon to remind himself of the limitations under which he set to work, but immediately the spiritual returns and he finds that he cannot dispense with it. The reader will readily notice this significant fact.

The main part of the book begins with an Introduction, consisting of two chapters, one dealing with Definition, Scope and Methods, and the other with Moral and Non-Moral Phenomena. Of the first chapter it is not necessary to say much. It is quite a competent statement of the problem, scope and methods of ethics. It might be possible to make some qualification of some of the positions, but on the whole the statement is adequate. We would most decidedly insist on qualifying some of the statements of the second chapter, which deal with moral and non-moral phenomena. As to what are moral phenomena, we may rest content with the author's statement. "All phenomena which arouse moral emotions or on which moral judgment may be passed, or which are either rewarded or punished with a sense that that is their desert, are moral phenomena. In a word, anything for which a man is held responsible by himself or by others, is thereby regarded as a moral phenomenon" (p. 18). This is good as far as it goes, but there are moral phenomena which cannot be brought under this rubric. There is a tacit reference to law or to a standard of action in our author's description of moral phenomena. Right, obligation, duty, responsibility, accountableness, are aspects of moral phenomena which have a reference to law or a standard. But a different category is required if one is to describe character as moral, and another category still is needed if we are to bring in the notion of the good. The description of moral phenomena leaves out of account that moral judgment which estimates by reference to an end, which is the category of the good, and that other, which estimates what we call virtue, which is the quality of character which corresponds to the performance of good conduct, the fitness of a man to attain the end.

The limitation of moral phenomena to that which can be expressed in terms of law has some curious consequences. Before we point these out, we shall describe briefly the results to which our author comes. He rightly points out that inorganic matter is non-moral, that the vegetable kingdom is also excluded from moral phenomena, and that all the

lower animals are not looked at as responsible. Man alone is moral, but not all human characteristics are moral according to our author. It may be well to let the writer speak for himself. "The facts so far examined support the conclusion that only voluntary actions are moral phenomena, and that may turn out to be the correct view. There are apparent exceptions, however, and these must be examined before the conclusion can be accepted with full confidence. All are familiar with the convenient division of psychic states into the volitional, the intellectual, and the emotional. Now, it is commonly supposed that men are responsible not only for volitional, but also for emotional and intellectual states, and moreover it seems often to be assumed that men are responsible for their habits, even when these have become so fixed as to lie beyond the control of the will. Vindictive feelings, suspicious thoughts, intemperate habits, will serve as examples of non-volitional states for which men are apparently held responsible. If the appearance is founded on fact, it cannot be maintained that only volitional states are moral phenomena" (p. 25). Our author comes to the conclusion that neither emotional states, intellectual states, nor fixed habits are moral phenomena. It would seem that if a man should lose control of himself he should cease to be responsible. Instead of arguing the question we shall allow the author to answer himself. "No voluntary action performs itself. In every case the agent in entirety is present, or at least is prevented by no external hindrance from being present. If in acting he fails to consider any interest involved, this—aside from his being unduly hurried, or otherwise disturbed or interfered with, a case of coercion impairing the full voluntariness of the action—is determined by his own character and by nothing else. . . . Properly speaking, then, the action is approved or disapproved not in itself, but as representing and indicating the agent and his character. And the agent is as responsible for his voluntary actions as he is for his own character or inmost self" (pp. 35-36).

Are we to conclude that emotional states, intellectual states, and fixed habits form no part of a man's character?

It would seem so, for they are said not to be moral phenomena, and a man's character is a moral phenomenon. This is not the only instance in which the author disregards his professed conclusion regarding the non-moral character of emotional and intellectual states. He broadly states that "complete morality is inspired by the emotions, in addition to being guided by the intellect, and held strong by the will" (p. 53). Surely these things which inspire and guide morality are themselves moral.

The truth is that our author in his zeal for the morality of voluntary action has forgotten for the moment that the voluntary cannot be isolated from the other aspects of man, except by an abstraction. He has forgotten that thought has also a volitional side. Is not attention both an act of thought and an act of will? And emotion is needed to kindle thought as well as to inspire action. But on this we do not dwell. Passing to the treatise itself the first part deals with subjective morality, and the second part with objective morality. The successive chapters of the first part deal with the topics Subjective Morality, Voluntary Action, The Adult Conscience, The Psychic Cause of Conscience, Birth and Growth of Conscience in the Child, and Birth and Growth of Conscience in the Race. We give an extract from the summary of results, as waning space prevents a fuller treatment. "Looking for the origin of conscience, and having reason to think that it grew out of some of the qualities characteristic of man as distinguished from other animals, an investigation was set on foot with a view to discovering those qualities. The result of this investigation was the discovery that Will-power differences man from other animals. Looking then for the results of the appearance of volition, it was seen that it gave rise to thinking, tool-making, and religion, all in the main helpful activities, it also gave birth to intelligent egoism, which tended to destroy man's chief resources for survival, *viz.*, the associated state. But here it appeared that conscience, public and private, developed out of social instincts and volition, and that putting an intelligent check on intelli-

gent but egoistic volition, it preserved the human race from extinction" (pp. 183-184).

There are many elements of interest in the process of investigation which led the author to the conclusion summarised above. Perhaps the chief among them is the attempt to make the volitional the dominating element in the life of man. Many other eminent authorities are with Professor Mezes in this contention, the chief of whom is, perhaps, Professor James of Harvard. But it is too large a question to be dealt with here.

The second part of the treatise is occupied with a discussion and description of objective morality. This really becomes a description of the virtues: courage, temperance, benevolence, justice, and the others. For this part of the work we feel great admiration. It is well done. The discussion is full, clear, learned, and altogether competent. He strives to go down to the foundation and origin of these virtues, to trace their growth and development, and to set them forth in their highest worth, as they have been realised in the best races of men, and further, to set them forth in their ideal perfection as they have not yet been realised anywhere. We are the more satisfied with the discussion inasmuch as the author has disregarded the limitations he had ostensibly set to moral phenomena, in the first part of his work. In proof of this we quote only one passage out of many that might be quoted. "All authorities insist on the morality of beneficence. But benevolence also received early mention. To be sure, among ethical writers it was first prominently mentioned, as far as I am aware, by Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, there taking the form of love, and being placed with the other two of the Pauline triad, faith and hope, above Plato's list, and regarded as supervisory of it. But as the mention of Paul suggests, benevolence was recognised long before Aquinas. Indeed, in addition to being recognised by Paul, it was recognised by Christ, by Buddha, and by Confucius, as well as by Mohammed, and may accordingly be described as the distinctive contribution of monotheism to the solution of the

moral problem. More primitive opinion was well aware that in the moral man the will is strong for courage and temperance, and the insight of intellect just and wise. But monotheistic religions first taught, both in impressive examples, and in the lives and precepts of devoted followers, that true morality is also, and it may be principally, a matter of the heart and feelings" (p. 203). How can this be, if emotional and intellectual states are not moral phenomena, as the author has expressly stated?

JAMES IVERACH.

The Principles of Morality and the Departments of the Moral Life.

By Wilhelm Wundt, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Leipzig. Translated by Margaret Hay Washburn, Ph.D., Warden of Sage College in Cornell University. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillans, 1901. 8vo, pp. xii. + 308. Price 7s. 6d.

Das Sittliche Leben. Eine Ethik auf Psychologischer Grundlage. Mit einem Anhang; Nietzsche's Zarathustra-Lehre.

Von Hermann Schwarz. Privatdozent an der Universität Halle. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. xi. + 417. Price 7s. net.

A GENERATION ago Ethics were treated on familiar lines by sharply opposed schools. On the side of naturalism, psychological and ethical hedonism held the field; on the other side, intuitionism made its protest, or idealism put forward its strong claims in the name of thought. Both of the volumes before us are significant of the newer work in ethics. We observe in them the modern appeal to the facts of experience, or to phenomenal science. In other words, these books illustrate the recoil from metaphysics. Wundt tells us that he declines to base ethics on metaphysics, holding rather that metaphysics should be based upon ethics. Waiving the question of the justification of the ethical judgment, he will accept it as a great fact of human history, and study it by the methods of scientific or historical research. His clearest result is anti-individualism. He tells us himself that he coincides a good deal with Hegel's results, while he claims, perhaps with truth, to do more justice than Hegel to the distinction between ethical facts and juristic. **Man**

as a natural being is part of a wider social whole; the expression of his partial but growing sense of this fact is found in morality. Every one will be anxious to go into the discussion of ethics upon this broad common territory of fact, but one doubts whether any basis of mere facts will carry the necessary ethical superstructure. In regard to the relation between ethics and metaphysics, there may be room for a *tertium quid*. Without treating ethics as a simple branch or corollary of the theory of the Absolute, we may hold that some metaphysical issues must be faced—if only provisionally—before we can deal profitably with the problems of ethics (or religion, or æsthetics, or possibly psychology). A final restatement of the doctrine of the Absolute may come later, gathering up all that we have learned in the special branches of philosophy. For lack of metaphysical preliminaries, Wundt seems, at times pre-critical and uncritical. Only one example can be given. If Kant is charged with “wholly untenable views” and “a union of contradictions” (p. 54) in teaching that human conduct may be viewed *either* as determined *or* as free, it seems hard to understand why Wundt is allowed to teach, on a parallel though not identical problem, that (p. 51) “where psychical processes may be regarded from an external as well as an internal point of view, these processes may either be assigned to the complex of psychical events by virtue of their immediate characteristics, or may be ranked within the casual nexus of mechanical processes by virtue of their external sensible aspect,” and that “convenience” will decide between the two modes of treatment. “Convenience,” indeed! Where opportunism begins, science ends. That is not fact, but shifting subjectivity.

More particularly, the new ethic rests upon psychology. This is stated on the title-page of Schwarz's book, and he frequently refers to his own published works on psychology. Wundt again is one of the most distinguished living psychologists; and his methods and basis are explained in the two previous volumes of translation noticed in this Review some years ago. As a sample of the help which recent advances

in psychology offer to ethics, we may mention a point dwelt upon by Schwarz—the uprooting of belief in the psychological universality and necessity of egoism, and the admission of altruistic promptings as genuine and original parts of the mind's equipment. Even Wundt offers new contributions which, perhaps, we ought to regard as an eirenicon on the vexed question of free will. There are two kinds of causation—psychical, and mechanical or material, the latter being absolutely inapplicable to mind. But, when we go further, the two writers differ widely. Wundt dismisses along with the hard soul-substance of the old “rational psychology” all belief in a solid kernel of human personality. Consequently (p. 29) personal immortality is also dismissed. For “the soul doubtless is immortal *where a soul can be discerned*,” and not otherwise. Here the appeal to psychology seems to be allowed to carry us very far indeed towards metaphysical and ethical (or non-ethical) results. The old purely introspective psychology believed that it laid its finger on “the very pulse of the machine”; by what right does modern psychology advance such exorbitant claims? If it can perform its limited task of description without using the conception of a self, by all means let it do so. But it does not follow that what psychology—or one writer's psychology—has not required to postulate is a thing non-existent. In Schwarz there is nothing analogous to these positions.

Again, the writers differ on Free Will. Schwarz defends the belief strongly, and makes two interesting points. First, he asserts that in ancient times no one thought of denying the *psychological* freedom of will, although the Stoic doctrine of cycles led to a denial of the power of the will always to embody its choice in external action. Again, he urges that, if we deny liberty of action, we ought by analogy to deny that the laws of thought can control the stream of associated ideas. Wundt, on the contrary, denies any freedom in the libertarian sense. His final argument against it is that its admission would make a science of psychology impossible. No doubt it was a mistake of former idealist philosophers to

pooh-pooh the collecting of psychological facts ; and yet we are paying rather dear for our psychology if we purchase it by sacrificing the moral nature of man. But Wundt is inexorable. There must be no such thing as a suspense of causation or even of determination. Prediction, according to "Laplace's World-formula," is indeed impossible in the region of mind, not merely because of the complexity of motive—that was granted long ago by the "hardest" determinism—but also (it seems) because causation in the world of mind need not work to uniform results—there is no solid mind-substance to steady it. Here again one is tempted to call for metaphysical scrutiny. Is a universal law which does not work uniformly any law at all? Or is it an idle figment? Or, taking lower ground, we might ask whether causal determination of the will is a finding of psychology or a prejudice introduced from other sciences. It is indeed a consequence of psychology-without-a-psyche that volitions also should melt into the psychical stream and lose their independence ; but was that a proved fact? Was it not a mere working hypothesis?

It appears to the present writer that Wundt, like most determinists, ignores his position when he goes on to the detail of ethical statement. What is the use of saying (p. 57) that "the most important factor" in the development of character is "the exercise of will"? If Wundt is right, will is merely a middleman, and we must push back to find the ultimate sources of causation outside us, in the materialistic pair, Heredity and Environment. Wundt is like a critic of expenditure who should say that, while too much had gone under this and that heading, the most important factor in your outlay was the very big totals you carried forward from the bottom of one page to the top of another.

Having got his basis *tant bien que mal*, Wundt deals with the ordinary questions of ethics in an interesting and readable fashion, sensible rather than profound, but with good literary touch. He recognises three distinct moral ends—individual, social and humanitarian ; the lower of these is always to give place to the higher. Schwarz also has a plurality of

ends, but he is satisfied with two—a personal end (self-respect) and what he calls “Foreign Values” or “Worths,” the latter being subdivided, however, into “altruistic” (mainly social) and “inaltruistic” (which we must claim leave to translate “ideal”). And Schwarz concurs in holding that the higher value always takes precedence of the lower. Once again we crave metaphysical criticism. Can the sense of duty possibly end in a plurality? The unification in each treatise—in neither of them is it a unity—takes the form of a basis for systematic casuistry. But such a casuistry is hard to believe in when we consider the complexity of life; to say nothing of other arguments.

Finally, Wundt teaches that the contents of the moral ideal are liable to endless evolutionary change, without prospect that the human race can ever realise the ideal that floats before it. Only one thing, we are told, may be postulated, that we are to strive after the ideal, and that (somehow) the ethical gains of humanity must endure (p. 107), though personal immortality be dismissed as a foolish dream. This is Professor Wundt’s religious creed; and it seems to constitute the promised metaphysical result of ethics. Its positive elements, so far as they go, are unobjectionable. But they suggest another criticism. Under the vague heading of “humanitarian” ends or norms, Wundt finds room for ideal morality. That is a great point gained; but is it quite fairly gained? Is our supreme reason for the toil of duty and self-sacrifice the future existence, during a few millenniums, of a community of dying men, continuing the tradition of civilisation on this doomed planet? In the last resort Wundt suggests something deeper; ought he not to have recast his phenomenal ethics from the higher point of view? But within its limits, and upon its assumptions, the work is well done; while, “aside from” some Americanisms and one or two slips, the translation also seems good. There is a fair index.

Schwarz’s views have confessed affinities with Martineau’s. He treats each moral judgment as a preference—persons better than conditions; others better than self. Still, he

points out that he differs in formulating the moral ends under two great heads rather than trusting the moral sense to produce a serial scale of values. From Kant again he differs in basing morality not on practical reason but, characteristically, on the distinct psychological facts of will. Within each particular end, conscience prefers one act and postpones another by means of "analytic" judgments; but the great fundamental preferences are "synthetic" or creative, *i.e.*, their worth is revealed to us when we exercise such preference. The rigorism to which this rule—"always do the highest possible"—seems to point is evaded by the doctrine that we can only do right when a natural feeling lends its help to the law. (In its absence the duty in question, though abstractly good, is not *our* duty.) Schwarz also has a religion of his own. He co-ordinates and adds together the theism of Feeling (dependence), of Thought (belief in the Great First Cause), and of Will (ethical faith). Also, under appeal to the "teaching" of the "Redeemer" he pleads for a worship of God which consists in the service of man, *solely*. This may be better than the author's earlier statement, according to which God is one out of several "foreign values". Are we to take in an absolutely literal sense the restriction of worship to work?

In spite of a curiously declamatory if serviceably clear style, Schwarz's book has a solid kernel of thought, sometimes original. Whether it really furnishes "the Alpha and Omega of ethics" (p. viii.) is another question. There is an excellent summary printed in lieu of running title at the top of the pages, and the index is satisfactorily full.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

The World and the Individual.

*(Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen.
Second Series.)*

*By Josiah Royce, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of the History of
Philosophy in Harvard University. New York: The
Macmillan Company, 1901. Pp. xx. + 480. Price
12s. 6d. net.*

IN this volume Professor Royce completes the Gifford Lecture that he delivered at the University of Aberdeen in the Winter Sessions of 1898-99 and 1899-1900. The previous series had traversed a wide speculative field, dealing with the conception of Being, partly in the form of trenchant criticism of typical ontological theories, and partly in the formulating and enunciating of the author's own view—all pointing forward, however, to a fuller development of his system. This fuller development is now before us; and it certainly does not lack in brilliancy and suggestiveness. The comprehensive sweep, the lucid style, the felicitous diction, the apt illustrations, and the keen dialectic carry the reader along as few metaphysical writings do; while the intensity of conviction that permeates the whole produces on one an impression second only to that which was made upon the Aberdeen audience that listened to the lectures, enforced by the striking personality of the author as he delivered them.

As an idealist, Professor Royce naturally starts in his philosophy, not from the world as a given something, but from Being; and, having determined the meaning of Being, proceeds to evolve his system. *To be* or *to be real* he defines as *to fulfil a purpose*; and the purpose that the individual fulfils is found, in the ultimate analysis, to be that of the Absolute.

For the Absolute purpose is fulfilled in the world by a countless number of individual wills, expressed in individual lives, and each unique. So that the problem comes to be the nature of the Individual and of the Absolute, and their relation each to each. This necessitates, therefore, in the first place, a Theory of human Knowledge, which is carefully worked out in the first two lectures of the treatise, and which revolves around the contrast between the two types of knowledge—the “descriptive” and the “appreciative”—which, in turn, depends upon the contrast between the “social” and the “individual” points of view, but which also has its logical notes in the consciousness of the Individual. Next comes an outline of a Philosophy of Nature, discussing, on the one hand, the distinction between the Temporal and the Eternal World-order (Lecture III.), and showing how Time and Eternity are not disparate but of a piece; and, on the other hand, presenting (in Lectures IV. and V.) such a view and interpretation of the cosmic processes, especially Evolution, as shall mediate between Idealism and our experience of Nature, and shall show “that an idealist is not obliged either to ignore or to make light of physical facts in order to maintain his theory of the Absolute”. Then follows consideration of the human Self—in its origin and nature and in its place in Being (Lectures VI. and VII.). Great stress is here laid on the *social* origin of the self, and views are enunciated that are by no means conventional. The self is not a substance (there is no such thing as a substantial soul); nor is it to be taken from the abstract and impersonal view of being, which gives us self as a law rather than a life, and as a type of existence rather than an individual. The self is essentially “a life with a meaning”; it is ethically free and gains its individuality through its relation to God, being “a unique expression of the Divine purpose”. Consequently, it is not a datum but an *ideal*—it is never fully realised here; and so we cannot define it. But the Absolute also is a self and a life (as is shown specifically in Lecture VIII., “The Moral Order”)—only it is a whole life, final and perfect.

But what, now, of Evil in the world? This is the question that is specially taken up in Lecture IX.; and the handling shows the author at his best. In the Temporal Order, it is urged, there is, at every point and in every act, relative freedom. Hence the possibility of the individual will consciously resisting the Will of the world. "The consequences of such resistance are real evils—evils that all finite beings and the whole world suffer. Such evils are justified only by the eternal worth of the life that endures and overcomes them. And they are temporally overcome through other finite wills and not without moral conflict." The solution must also, in great measure, be sought in the solidarity of the race. Moral agents in the universe must not be sundered—each individual helps or retards the other, and each suffers from the other's ill-doing, and yet is privileged to make *atonement* for it, and, therefore, to aid in overcoming or transcending it. Thus the Divine will is ever winning its way in the world, and we are the means of realising it, and so shall share in the triumphs of the eternal order. This, therefore, is our comfort, *viz.*, "in the consciousness, first, that the ideal sorrows of our finitude are identically God's own sorrows, and have their purpose and meaning in the Divine life as such significant sorrows; and in the assurance, secondly, that God's fulfilment in the eternal world—a fulfilment in which we too, as finally and eternally fulfilled individuals, share, is to be won, not as the mystic supposed, without finitude and sorrow, but through the very bitterness of tribulation, and through overcoming the world. In being faithful to our task we too are temporally expressing the triumph whereby God overcomes in eternity the temporal world and its tribulations."

But now (Lecture X.) the individual is immortal. This he is because of his union with God. He is, also, immortal because of death; for "the death of an individual is a possible fact, in an idealistic world, only in case such death occurs as an incident in the life of a larger individual, whose existence as this Self and no other, in its individual contrast with the rest of the world, is continuous in meaning with the

individuality that death cuts short. No Self, then, can end until itself consciously declares, My work is done, here I cease." Hence, thirdly, he is immortal as an ethical self in union with God; for the task of an ethical self—that of serving—is never finished.

Such, in brief, is the teaching of this important treatise. One strong point about it is, its persistent refusal to sunder the individual from other individuals, from the rest of the world, and from God; and another is its equally persistent refusal to sever the Temporal from the Eternal Order in the universe. It is peculiar among Idealisms, also, in maintaining the Personality of the Absolute, and in fully recognising the nature and reality of Evil. It is far removed from Mysticism, and keeps in touch with common-sense.

In this way a great many objections that are usually urged against Idealistic theory are met by anticipation. Yet difficulties remain with regard both to the Individual and to the Absolute.

For instance, it is a prominent position of Professor Royce that "what the Self in its wholeness wills is just, in so far, God's will, and is identical with one of the many expressions implied by a Divine purpose". But, clearly, some one definite sense must be attached to "self in its wholeness," and some test must be supplied to determine when the Self does will in its wholeness and when not; otherwise we shall run the risk of reasoning in a circle, maintaining that self wills in its wholeness when it consciously and intentionally fulfils the divine purpose, and that it consciously and intentionally fulfils the divine purpose when it wills in its wholeness. Nor is the matter made easier by the consideration that individuality, as set forth by Dr. Royce, is still very much a name to us—is still in great measure an unknown quantity: it is never fully known by us here, because it is not yet realised by us, and so defined only in terms of an ideal.

Again, the social origin of the human self presents difficulties. That consciousness of self grows and develops through social intercourse and in a social atmosphere is unquestioned. It may freely be granted that it is through

communication with other selves that the individual comes to regard himself as a self. But there are other necessary factors in the genesis of self—especially the individual's own body, with its organic sensations, and his activities brought into exercise in relation to external objects. Consideration of these and of other processes implicated in the development of self casts doubt on the position that "various Selves can possess, in the whole or in a part of their lives, identically the *same* experiences, so that one Self can originate, or can develop *within* another self".

In like manner, there is difficulty in the notion of the Absolute as an individual—"the Individual of individuals"; and there is difficulty in conceiving the kind of future existence of the finite individual, when his purpose is realised, and when the present type of consciousness gives place to another.

But, difficulties apart, the work is a very remarkable one, stimulating and suggestive at every point; and all who are interested in the higher problems of thought will welcome it as a real contribution (the greatest of recent years) to the philosophy of the subject.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

An Outline of the Relations between England and Scotland (500-1707).

By R. S. Rait, Fellow of New College, Oxford. London : Blackie & Son, 1901. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 225. Price 7s. 6d. net.

MR. RAIT has produced an extremely useful and readable account of the relations of Scotland and England till the Union. The work is very useful for the student, for it collects a great number of facts, many of which, indeed, may be found scattered through other histories, but which are difficult to grasp because they have not hitherto been collected, and it will be useful and interesting to the general reader, for the subject with which it deals is both difficult and interesting; and Mr. Rait presents the facts in a very luminous and readable fashion; the learning behind the work is solid and careful, but there is nothing pedantic in the way it is used.

To the technical student, no doubt, the most important discussion in the book is that contained in the introductory chapter on the question whether the Scottish nationality should be looked upon as predominantly Celtic or as, properly speaking, an independent section of the English race. Mr. Rait traverses the judgment which has been commonly received that the Scottish Lowlander was, not only in language and manners, but also predominantly in blood, of the English race, and that the Highlander was, properly speaking, much further from the Lowlander than the Lowland Scotch were from the English. It would be entirely unbecoming in one like myself who has no complete acquaintance with the subject, either from the point of view of Celtic institutions or of early Scottish manners and institutions, to express a judgment upon the controversy, but I may say that Mr. Rait has stated his case with precision and force, so well, indeed, that

I can only hope that he will have occasion and opportunity to deal with the matter more completely.

Mr. Rait introduces his discussion of the relations between England and Scotland by a short chapter on the relations of the two countries before the Norman Conquest, very terse and clear, and which says as much perhaps as there is to be said on the subject. In the next chapter he deals also very tersely and clearly with the relations of the countries from the Conquest till the death of Alexander III., giving an excellent summary view of the feudalisation of the Lowlands, and the settling of the Norman nobles in the country, and brings out in sharp and clear relief the first definite and tangible point in the relations of the two countries, the recognition of Henry II. as overlord of Scotland in the treaty of Falaise in 1174, when William the Lion had been made prisoner. But as Mr. Rait points out, the relations within a few years fall back into the former uncertainty, when in 1189, by the agreement between Richard I. and William the Lion, the terms of the treaty of Falaise were annulled.

But we do not propose to summarise Mr. Rait's work, and we need only say that the care and precision which marks the early chapters of the book are carried out to the end. It does not fall within the scope of the work to deal much with one aspect of Scottish institutions which Mr. Rait has already handled very effectively, I mean the history of Parliamentary institutions in Scotland, but such references as there are in the work are interesting and illuminating. Many who are interested in the scientific treatment of Scottish history will look forward especially to a more complete treatment of the history of the political institutions, and no one will be more competent to undertake this than Mr. Rait. When that work is accomplished there will, I venture to think, be a great deal more of interest to say on the comparison of English and Scottish history.

A. J. CARLYLE.

Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar.

*Par S. Karppe. Paris : Félix Alcan, 1901. 8vo, pp. x. + 599.
Price F.7.50.*

THE work before us may be considered as consisting of two almost equal parts. Pages 1-306 give a sketch of the history of Jewish mysticism from the earliest times to about the close of the thirteenth century; pages 307-581 contain a discussion of Zohar and of its contents. Probably the second part will not interest a non-Jewish reader much. Zohar would be a work of great importance to the student of the history of Christianity, if it were indeed, as it claims to be, a faithful transcript of the teaching of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai (fl. *circ.* A.D. 150), who is one of the authorities quoted in the Mishnah. If we could indeed ascribe to a Jewish doctor of the second century the hints of the doctrine of a Divine Trinity and of a Suffering Messiah which are found in Zohar, we should have to confess that the influence of Christianity on the thought of the leaders of Judaism was much greater than can at present be allowed. But Dr. Karppe, in agreement with earlier scholars, Jacob ben Zebi Emden (1763) and Jellinek (1851), shows on both external and internal evidence that the book is not earlier than *circ.* A.D. 1300. Indeed it may hardly be called a "book," but rather "une juxtaposition, un agrégat d'éléments hétérogènes". Dr. Karppe declines to accept the suggestion that certain parts of this aggregation are early; all claim to go back to ben Jochai, and all are spurious when judged by this claim.

The sketch of Jewish mysticism which occupies the first half of Dr. Karppe's book, is both useful and interesting. A great deal of matter is presented in very few pages. The

author defines Jewish mysticism as the product of Jewish thought "evoluant sous l'action de la pensée non-juive" (p. 20). He gives a chapter on Mysticism "jusqu'à la clôture du Talmud," abounding with interesting quotations from early Midrash. "Chaque jour Dieu crée une classe d'anges qui récitent devant lui un cantique et disparaissent" (Breshith R. 78). "Les méchants s'appuient sur Dieu, mais les justes, Dieu s'appuie sur eux" (*ibid.*, 69). "L'effet de la faute (of the sin of Adam) disparaît avec la révélation sinaitique."

It is to be hoped that the text of Dr. Karppe's book will be very carefully revised in a second edition. There are many misprints in the Hebrew, some in the French, and the Greek accents are "anyhow". Page 24, line 5, read "Maaseh," p. 45, note 3, *הדין*, p. 49, note 4, *הסתכל*, p. 52, lines 31, 32 (accents!), p. 53, line 3 (accents!), p. 55, line 5, read *νομοθέτης*, p. 70, line 2, read *Vajikra*, p. 71, note 1, read *beth* for *caph* twice.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Leben Jesu.

Von D. Oscar Holtzmann, a. o. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Giessen. Tübingen und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. xvi. + 428. Price 7s. 9d. net.

As might be expected, the attempt is being made from time to time to rewrite the life of Jesus in view of the most recent critical study of the Gospels, and this work, issued a few months ago by Professor O. Holtzmann, is beyond all question one of the most competent and readable of German delineations of the subject. A minor merit of the volume is that we are spared all controversial discussion of points in scholarship or doctrine; as in the case of Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*, the reader is presented with conclusions rather than processes. At the same time the expert will find the book quite as interesting as the general reader. The author's tone is that of the severely self-restrained historian, perfectly candid and notably dispassionate, but somewhat prosaic, and manifestly in bondage to a less ample spirit of grace and liberty than breathes through the pages of the New Testament.

Holtzmann's initial discussion of the sources has an interest of its own aside from the main purpose of his book. With the vast majority of recent critics he takes Mark to have been in the hands of the authors of our first and third Gospels; Matthew's collection of the Logia, however, is earlier still. Previous histories of Christ's ministry exhibit signs of hesitation and uncertainty, mainly because they neglect to follow Mark strictly in matters of chronology. The historical value of the Fourth Gospel is altogether secondary, for no scientific writer can consent to use, as material of first-class importance, data which throughout show signs of having been handled with the most sovereign freedom. A feature of Holtzmann's work for which the reader will scarcely be prepared, is the high authority assigned to the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. This comes out especially in connexion with the

question of Christ's sinlessness, His relations to His family, and the order of the three temptations. "The Gospel of the Hebrews seems to be, on the whole, similar in type to our Synoptics, but also quite independent and of equal value" (p. 39).

Mark is regarded as having, with historical insight and truth, divided the life of Jesus into five sections sharply distinguished from one another. These sections are as follows: (1) from Jesus' birth to His self-discovery as Messiah at His baptism; (2) from the beginning of His ministry to the controversy with the Pharisees about ceremonial purity; (3) from His flight thereafter to Peter's confession; (4) from Peter's confession to the entry into Jerusalem; (5) from the entry into Jerusalem onwards. The *principium divisionis* which we must employ in making this partition is Jesus' attitude to His own Messiahship. All that can be done with His sayings is to fit them into that section of the life where they seem most in place. There is a brief but interesting passage which discusses the point whether we can possibly expect to write a biography of Christ at all. The claims urged by Holtzmann in this respect are modest.

On many phases of our Lord's life and action we have found this book eminently instructive and full of suggestion. Taken as a whole, nothing could be better than what the author has to say, for instance, about Christ's use of the Old Testament, His knowledge of human life, His temptations, the masculine strength of His character, many of the more prominent parables, the Lord's Prayer, the significance of Peter's confession, the order of events during the last week of Christ's life. This last section of the work is especially good. There is much sagacious Christian *Lebensweisheit* scattered up and down its pages. In short, as regards all the less central and interior aspects of the subject, we are furnished with the most valuable information, delighted with sympathetic exposition, and filled with a sense of historic reality and substance.

But in many other respects, and these quite as momentous

from the standpoint of history as from the standpoint of faith, Holtzmann's judgment does not appear to us to be free to accept facts as they are. A devotee of the *Aufklärung* would not feel himself entirely out of his own atmosphere in these pages. The elements in the Gospels which we are accustomed to call supernatural are uniformly reduced to the limits of every-day events. Holtzmann, in fact, is working with a set of principles which forbid conclusions of any but a certain kind. For example, while the eschatological character of Christ's preaching is rightly emphasised (pp. 124, 128), the Preacher is represented far too much as literally tied to the notions of His time. No doubt Christ accepted and used the ideas current in His day, as He accepted, in becoming man, a particular language and grammar, and as any one was bound to do who desired to make himself intelligible to his contemporaries; but in His hands they came to have an ideal and religious content which was destined ultimately to burst the bonds of Jewish thought. To this consideration Holtzmann seems blind, and any one who compares the relevant passages in this book with the valuable treatise on the same subject by Professor Erich Haupt of Halle, will become keenly aware of the radical deficiencies of his treatment.

Nor can the view of the Gospel miracles offered us in this book be said to satisfy even moderate demands. The wonders wrought by the Holy Coat of Trèves are adduced as casting a much-needed light upon Christ's miracles of healing. Is there anything in the Gospel story, one may ask at this point, which suggests that Christ *failed* in some of the cases of disease brought to Him, and if not, is it not—even from the point of view of inductive logic—to put a fool's cap upon the discussion to introduce such a parallel? The calming of the sea is dismissed as a coincidence; the narratives of the widow's son and of Lazarus are denied all authenticity because they are not to be found in the oldest Gospel. The explanation given of such things as the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the sea compares badly in force and verisimilitude with older rationalising theories of the same kind. The Transfiguration is an allegory. Holtzmann's

view of the Resurrection has many features of resemblance to Keim's, though there is a curious audacity in his quoting 1 Corinthians xv. 6, to prove that such subjective visions as he believes in could quite well appear to a multitude at once. The Apostle, we may be sure, hardly contemplated such a use of his words. The strange theory meets us here again that the Resurrection was "certainly expected" (p. 391). None of the appearances took place in Jerusalem. Joseph of Arimathea, objecting to have a criminal buried in his grave, probably bestowed the body of Jesus elsewhere as soon as the Sabbath was past. With this goes an ill-judged attempt to make Paul a witness to the theory that the body was *not* reanimated.

Though we have called attention to certain elements in this *Leben* which fail to satisfy the canons of history, we have every desire to recognise its many and conspicuous merits. For though Holtzmann is a writer rather of knowledge than of power, he holds the mind of the reader by the solid and substantial impressiveness of the narrative as it unfolds in his hands. Those who share his standpoint will, without question and not unjustly, regard his work as one of enduring value. Such representations of Christ's life set the mind a-working round the deepest problems of our religion. It is an intellectual exercise of the most engrossing kind, indeed, to inquire how much we can say about Jesus of Nazareth apart altogether from religious faith in Him. But have we any right to separate history and faith in the matter? Is not the faith itself based upon a view of the history as a whole, and if so, how can it remain without objective influence and value for our conclusions upon details of the Gospel narrative? The Jesus Christ presented to us in the New Testament would become a different person if His miracles, and, above all, His resurrection were removed. Both faith and history seem to unite in *this* judgment, and in that case books of the kind Professor Holtzmann has written are bound partially to fail in their appeal to the Christian consciousness.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Der Menschensohn, Jesu Selbstbezeichnung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des aramäischen Sprachgebrauches für "Mensch" untersucht.

Von Paul Fiebig, Licentiat der Theologie. Tübingen und Leipzig: Paul Siebeck, 1901. M.3.

THIS is the up-to-date book on the philological controversy which Lietzmann's *Menschensohn* opened with such startling force in 1896. It goes on the same lines of research into dialects of Aramaic in which Lietzmann and Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 1898) have led the way, but it goes further and it brings back results more edifying than Lietzmann's and more tenable than Dalman's. Part I. (pp. 8-60) treats exhaustively of the Aramaic usage in vocables for *man*. The particular object is to discover the words or expressions available in the dialect Jesus probably used. Lietzmann maintained (1) that *barnasha'* was the only word available in that dialect, although, curiously enough, he admits eleven instances in his chief authority (the Christian-Palestinian document known as *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*) of the use of the alternative *gebhara'*. (2) That the proper translation of *barnasha'* in Greek is *ἄνθρωπος* or *ὁ ἄν.*, in no case *υἱὸς* or *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. (3) That the indeterminate form *barnash* can mean only *some* or *any one* = Greek *τις*. (4) That there is no evidence apart from the Gospels of the use of *Barnasha'* in the time of Jesus in a distinctive sense (as = the Messiah), and that the ascription of the self-designation (*ὁ υἱ. τ. ἀνθ.*) in the Greek Gospels to Jesus is due partly to misunderstanding of Aramaic originals, and partly to the fondness of subapostolic Hellenists for the apocalyptic title suggested by Daniel. As to (4) Dalman agreed with the first part, misled (I venture to think) by his sense of what was due to the impressive fact that in the New Testament

Jesus only applied the Danielic title to himself. But as to the theory which ascribes the alleged mistake to subapostolic Hellenists, Dalman justly remarks that the silence of the New Testament in regard to the title except as a *self-designation* of Jesus might have kept Lietzmann from entertaining a view so wildly improbable. According to Lietzmann himself, Hellenism is already rampant in our Greek Gospels in this prominent "Son of Man". How is it that the title appears only on the lips of Jesus and is not even once applied to him by reporters who love it so well as to ascribe it, without any foundation in fact, to the Master? Fiebig differs from Dalman mainly in two particulars: (1) He holds, and so far as possible proves, that the Danielic title was in currency in at least some Jewish circles in the time of our Lord. The proof from the usage in the *Similitudes of Enoch* and in *Fourth Ezra* is of course precarious in so far as neither of these apocalypses can be proved to be pre-Christian.¹ Fiebig does not discuss the question of the dates of these books. It is enough to be able to treat them as evidence of first century usage. It is not seriously contended that either of them is later, and the supposition of the interpolation of Christian *words* into documents so absolutely free of distinctively Christian *ideas* has nothing to support it. But in regard to this matter also, the most convincing proof lies in the New Testament itself. The Gospels are full of the proof that *Jesus* was a mystery both to disciples, the rulers and the crowd. But no one feels a difficulty about the mere *phrase* "Son of Man". It may be misunderstood, but, as we shall see, the most indifferent hearers of Jesus must at least *think* that they understand it. Fiebig thinks it reasonable to believe that it is "Son of Man" in Psalms viii. 4 that has led to the Messianic use of the psalm which we find both in Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (1 Cor. xv. 27, Heb. ii. 6 ff.). (2) Fiebig differs from Dalman in his

¹ It is significant, however, that the pre-Christian date, not only of the *Similitudes* but of *Fourth Ezra*, is maintained in Kautzsch's recently published editions in *Die Apocryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des A. T.* Freiburg i. B., 1899.

view of the meaning of *barnasha*'. He agrees with Lietzmann and Wellhausen in thinking that even in the time of our Lord it was the exact and not as in Hebrew the mere poetic equivalent of '*enasha*' (Heb. *Haadham*). He holds that even in the biblical Aramaic of Daniel '*enash*' and *bar'enash*' are precisely on the same footing, as is proved by a comparison of vv. 4 and 13 in Dan. vii. 'There is no less reason to be poetical at v. 4 than at v. 13, yet in the former case '*enash*' and in the latter *bar'enash*' is used. Why then do the Greek evangelists render the self-designation of Jesus *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and not simply *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*? *Because*—the title is fundamentally a quotation. *Bar* is translated, not because it has any force, but because it occurs in the model passage in Daniel, *i.e.*, vii. 13. If the patronymic prefix has lost force in the time of *Daniel*, how much more in the time of our Lord? This may be so, but even a layman on the linguistic question may hazard the opinion that Dalman will feel the evidence to be somewhat slender. Not even the magnificent research of a scholar, who, like Fiebig, has searched through not only the Jerusalem Talmud, but the Babylonian (which is four times larger), can produce—apart from the biblical books of Daniel and Ezra—instances of the Aramaic usages earlier than the second century A.D. The usage of the second century A.D. is good evidence for the *likely* usage of the first century A.D., but it is weak evidence for the usage of the second century B.C. Can Fiebig give us an instance in biblical Aramaic where the patronymic prefix is used in a purely *prosaic* passage and with no heightening of the sense or dignity of the expression? To point to a poetic-apocalyptic passage (Dan. ii. 4) where the patronymic is *not* used proves no more in regard to the usage of biblical Aramaic than, say, the similar absence of the patronymic in Micah vi. 8 proves in regard to the usage of biblical Hebrew. While, therefore, we may believe, on the basis of the evidence marshalled with such immense learning and skill by Fiebig, that Jesus spoke an Aramaic in which, in ordinary usage, the patronymic prefix has lost its significance, we may still feel that the fact of the self-designation of Jesus being of the nature of a quota-

tion from a canonical apocalypse carries with it the necessity to preserve the phrase in all the fulness of heightened sense and dignity which it has not in Daniel only but throughout the Old Testament. Is it not this feeling in the Greek evangelists which accounts for the invariable *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (and not merely *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*) wherever they understood Jesus to be speaking of himself?

In view of the confidence with which Lietzmann had declared it to be incredible on linguistic grounds alone that Jesus could have called himself *Barnasha* in the distinctive sense implied in our Gospels, the linguistic results of Fiebig are startling indeed. But they have the advantage of being proved in black and white, and on the basis of a review of existing Aramaic documents that is exhaustive to a degree hitherto unparalleled.

Besides the enormous labour of searching through the two Talmuds, Fiebig has culled examples from about a dozen other documents, which need not here be even named. We are concerned with the result. It may be stated as follows:—

(1) There are in the various dialects of Aramaic not one word only but (irrespective of differences in literation) four that may be used to express the determinate singular = *the man*, viz., *'enash*, *'enasha*, *barnash*, *barnasha*.

(2) All the four may mean (according to the connection) one or other of the four: *a man*, *the man*, *man* (collectively), *some* or *any one*.

Time has thus, so to speak, blunted the point of the Aramaic vocables for *man* at both ends. It has tended to make meaningless both the patronymic prefix and the determinate affix.

In Part II. (pp. 61-127) Fiebig deals with "Son of Man" in the New Testament, and his application of the result of Part I. is both deeply interesting in itself and deeply satisfactory to those who wish to maintain (in this connection) the most literal view possible of the historicity of the Gospels. Where so much was, *ex hypothesi*, left to the discretion of the hearers and interpreters of Jesus' words the possibility of

occasional mistake on the part of the Greek evangelists looks on the first blush very like a probability. Fiebig hastens to show that in not one of the five cases,¹ in regard to which mistakes have been most confidently asserted, is the probability a fact. The most interesting, perhaps, are Mark ii. 10, 27 f. In the former, the rendering "that a man on earth has power," etc., seems borne out by Matt. ix. 8, where the multitude glorify God who has given "such power to *men*". But the point of our Lord's argument is not that a man has, or that men in general have power to forgive sins, but that one who can heal a paralytic with a word can also forgive sins. The translator is therefore right in treating *Barnasha*' as a self-designation of Jesus. On the other hand, *barnasha*' might mean simply *men in general*. Hence there is room for the popular misunderstanding noted in Matt. ix. 8. In Mark ii. 27 f., the view of Lietzmann and Wellhausen, that Jesus meant to say "*man* is lord of the Sabbath," has a certain reasonableness. The proposition seems the legitimate conclusion from the premiss: "The Sabbath was made for man".

Fiebig thinks it incredible, nevertheless, that Jesus should have said anything so loose. His view is that the two sayings have been brought mechanically together by Mark. "The Sabbath was made for man" suits the incident of the disciples plucking the ears of corn. "The Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath" must belong rather to some occasion in which Jesus was Himself the offender. Luke, e.g., attaches the saying to the incident of the cornfield with the loose link, *καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς* (Luke vi. 5).

Fiebig's verdict is that in all the passages (he goes over them all) in which "Son of Man" appears in the Gospels, the evangelist is not wrong in supposing that Jesus meant to speak of Himself. It does not follow, however, that in every instance Jesus *said* "Son of Man". The fact that several times the simple "I" in one Gospel takes the place of "Son of Man" in another makes it *possible* that in *many* and highly

¹ Matt. xii. 32; viii. 20; xi. 19; Mark ii. 27 f.; ii. 10; and parallels.

probable that in *some* cases where a Gospel says "Son of Man" Jesus may have said simply "I".¹

Fiebig does not dwell on so obvious a point, but a main source of interest in his reading of the facts is that it makes for the *possibility*, and, in most cases, for the *right* of retaining "Son of Man" wherever it is found. Thus though, *ex hypothesi*, *Barnasha'* is a current Messianic title, it does not follow that every time Jesus used the expression either the multitude or the disciples understood Him to refer to the Messiah. Conversely, there may be instances in which *Barnasha'* is clearly understood to be the Messiah, but a doubt (whole or half) remains whether the speaker means Himself. An important instance of the latter class might be the passages—recurrent after the solemn catechising at Cæsarea Philippi—in which Jesus speaks of the sufferings of the "Son of Man". If He had said simply "*I* must suffer in this way," the recurring remark of the evangelists that the disciples did not *understand* would be an impertinence. The incomprehensible thing was that the *Man* of Dan. vii. 13, the *Man of the Clouds of Heaven* should suffer and die. Of the passages in which *Jesus* Himself but not the *Messiah* was probably evident, the most important are those in which in any Gospel "Son of Man" occurs before the account of the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. It has seemed plausible to argue that if *Barnasha'* was a current designation of the Messiah, Jesus could not have said *Barnasha'*, meaning Himself, previous to the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. But on Fiebig's view of the linguistic facts, the conclusion is quite invalid. *E.g.*, in the dialogue with the Scribe (Matt. viii. 19 f.) it was quite plain to the Scribe that when Jesus said "*Barnasha'* hath not where to lay His head," He could mean only Himself and not men in general. The plain and so far correct meaning was: Beasts have their houses, but in Me you see a *man* (*barnasha'*) without a home. What was by no means necessarily clear to the Scribe was that the wandering Teacher was claiming to be the Messiah.

¹ The most interesting instance is notoriously Matt. xvi. 13 (omitting the gloss $\mu\epsilon$.) as compared with Mark viii. 27.

Enough has perhaps been said (though the book deserves much more) to show that Fiebig's work is of great interest and a real contribution on the basis of sound knowledge to an important discussion in which very few even in Germany are qualified to take a leading part. The more constructive part of the book dealing with Jesus' reasons for choosing the Danielic title and the meaning He put into it—whether in addition to or subtraction from the model of the canonical Apocalypse—is very suggestive.

But we could take much more. Let us hope that Fiebig will soon have recovered sufficiently from his labours in the Babylonian Talmud to give us a sequel on the "Son of Man," not in *Daniel* but in Jesus, where the results of these labours are simply assumed.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich. In Umrissen. Im Auftrage der "Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich".

Von Georg Loesche. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 251. Price M.2.

DR. LOESCHE, Professor of Theology, particularly of Church History in the Protestant Faculty associated with, though, because Protestant, not organically a part of, the Roman Catholic University of Vienna, is a recognised authority on the subject to which this little book is devoted. He has made it peculiarly his own. Various articles, and especially a work on Johannes Mathesius, an eminent cleric and schoolmaster of the period of the Reformation, which is as full of life as it is of learning, have led to a sort of silent assumption that he is, as it were, called to be the historian of Protestantism in Austria. If a Carlylean eye for characteristic points, and the gift of picturesque phrase, a never-failing, though possibly here and there a too marked antipathy to the dry-as-dust method, and an infinite capacity for ransacking original sources and gathering up details, conjoined with scrupulous exactness in references to authorities, whether original or second-hand, are qualifications of the historian, there can be no doubt about Dr. Loesche's vocation. I may say, by the way, that a history of Protestantism in Great Britain by a German of his careful scholarship, broad sympathies, lively style and religious insight is a decided desideratum. A work of the kind such a writer might produce would contribute greatly to the dissipation of a number of prejudices, half-truths and whole mistakes that are at the bottom of not a little of the alienation between Germany and ourselves which many of us sincerely deplore.

The task of carving a cameo of the course run by Pro-

testantism in Austria is one of special difficulty owing to the number of nationalities which make up the Empire, and the great diversities by which their life and character have been marked.

The tragic element in the history of Austrian Protestantism is thrust on the reader's notice in the table of contents by the heading of the two main divisions of Dr. Loesche's little book.

I. "Reformation and *Counter Reformation*." II. "From the Patent (or Act) of Toleration" (issued by the Emperor Joseph II., in October 1783) "to the present day, that is, from the epoch of toleration to that of equal rights."

The story of the so-called "*Counter Reformation*," that is, of the re-establishment of the absolute supremacy of Romanism, for cruelties and horrors of every kind, is scarcely equalled by any other. One may doubt whether the Turks behaved with greater savagery in Armenia than the Roman Catholic bishops and priests, with their obedient tools the political and other powers, behaved towards their own fellow-subjects—with of course exceptions—through a good part of two centuries. That Protestantism is not marked at the present day by much strength, enterprise or courage is not to be wondered at—the wonder is that it exists at all.

After an introduction dealing in general with the relation of Austria's rulers to Protestantism, the history is sketched according to the leading political divisions of the Empire—Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Central Austria (that is, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Graz, Istria and Trieste), Salzburg, Tyrol, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Bukowina. One has only to have a slight acquaintance with the enormous differences between the provinces or nations just enumerated in order to recognise that Dr. Loesche has undertaken a task requiring not only most varied learning, but the skill of a master historical artist. I can testify that what he has done is very interesting to read; whether he has succeeded in adequately working up characteristic features into an artistic whole that leaves the general impression of truth, only another master of the subject can judge.

D. W. SIMON.

Culture and Restraint.

By Hugh Black. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 383. Price 6s.

MR. BLACK has written an interesting, and useful, and, in many ways, a fine book, but one's first impression is that it is of quite unnecessary length. He could have said what is here said in half the space; and the argument, or rather the statement, would have been much more effective. Here and there it is so interesting that one feels what a condensing process could have done for it. It is not altogether easy to come to a proper estimate of the book. It is not sermon work, though the opening chapter suggests to one that the idea of the book may have grown out of a sermon on a felicitous text, Zechariah ix. 13: "Thy sons, O Sion, against thy sons, O Greece". And the preacher declares himself all through, especially in such fine chapters—probably the most effective of all—as "The Failure of the Ascetic Ideal" and "The Teaching of Jesus on Asceticism". It is really an "Essay," and the style and plan of the essayist suggest comparisons which are inevitable and exacting. It possesses beauty, and fine literary allusiveness, but it lacks grip. This lack is possibly due in some measure to the obvious and incontestable position adopted by the writer—the only one possible, and which is admirably stated in the last chapter on "The Christian Solution". It is impossible to decide between Culture and Restraint till the facts on which each of them rests have been recognised. "This is the Christian position, the simple acceptance of both sides, looking with clear eyes on the whole situation." The chapters which state the claims of Culture, as it is represented by its modern apostles, are good, though laboured, and exhibit the writer as he moves with singular freedom, and enviable intimacy among the Seeleys and Arnolds and

Paterson of the day. The best of these is that on "Culture as Religion," in which, with a fine sense of justice, he shows "that to take culture out of its legitimate place and elevate it to a religion, is to produce only a sham religion: yet those who have made the attempt have been moved by a sense of the necessity of religion". Of course in this chapter it is Professor Seeley's *Natural Religion* which is chiefly laid under criticism: and the treatment of Seeley's conception of religion as, in its root idea, admiration—so that a Culture rising into a Religion demands a devotion of science, humanity, and nature—is very thorough. It is condemned for many reasons, but mainly because it ignores the question of sin. "There is no mention of sin." A religion of science and art raised to the religious pitch, even if it were possible, would fail to do justice to the moral meaning of human life. "It is not and cannot be a universal ideal; it does not give an adequate moral motive; it does not satisfy the facts of our nature, nor make provision for either sin or sorrow." In other words, it is an attempt to have "a religion without God". This may be taken as the strongest chapter in the book, both critically and constructively. The chapter on St. Paul's magnificent ideal of "The Perfect Man" also contains some strong ethical thinking, and enables Mr. Black to show very clearly that, "if we carry culture as a theory of life far enough up, and if in accordance with the facts of human nature we accept the duty implied in the possession of spiritual capacity, we are led to the religious position". Loyalty to the facts of moral life forces one to admit the regal claims of religion. This point is well stated, if, like most points in the book, it is also over-elaborated. It is religion which gives culture its true sanction. Mr. Black has some fine things here as to the place of the religious faculty, the recognition of which, as he says, puts "criticism in its right place at once: it must stand at the Temple gate or the outer court, it has no entry to the Holy of Holies".

The chapters in which there is discussed "the rival method which opposes self-culture by self-restraint" are good, especially that on "The Failure of the Ascetic Ideal," which

is illustrated largely from Augustine, and in which its failure is shown to consist "in raising into an end what can only be justified as a means—in leaving out happiness as an essential element in the moral ideal, and in making abstinence a higher virtue than temperance". The chapter on "The Physical Treatment of the Soul" is marked by much sobriety of judgment, and is, in a marked sense, modern. The chapters on "Mediæval Sainthood" and "The Origin of Asceticism" inevitably challenge competition with much that has been written on the subject, notably Harnack's recent monograph on Augustine and Monasticism; and one feels that they were not quite necessary to the idea of the book, particularly that on Mediæval Sainthood. But let Mr. Black give us more work which shows the fine ethical insight of the chapter on "The Teaching of Jesus on Asceticism". Throughout the volume there is a marked sense of fairness in the treatment of those who represent the various ideals dealt with—a calm and sober judgment inspired by a judicial historic sense—and the style, though it admittedly tends to slight weariness, is clear and pure. Occasionally an affectation jars on one—as when a word like "logicated" is coined unnecessarily, and made to do duty for "reasoned". But there is no pedantry or ostentation of reading, though one is perhaps most of all impressed by the assimilative faculty which Mr. Black has, so that modern literature of all kinds, and the kinds are strikingly various, percolates into his pages in numerous quotations. In a word, *Culture and Restraint* is a thoughtful contribution of a popular and readable nature to the literature of Christian Ethics.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Romans : Introduction, Authorised Version, Revised Version, with Notes, Index and Map.

*Edited by Alfred E. Garvie, M.A. (Oxon.), B.D. (Glasgow).
Edinburgh : T. C. and E. C. Jack. Pp. 322. Price 2s.
net cloth ; 3s. net leather.*

2. The General Epistles : James, Peter, John and Jude.

Edited by W. H. Bennett, M.A. (London and Cambridge), Professor, New College and Hackney College, London ; sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Edinburgh : T. C. and E. C. Jack. Pp. 350. Price 2s. net cloth ; 3s. net leather.

3. The Pastoral Epistles : Timothy and Titus.

Edited by R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D. Pp. 196. Edinburgh : T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1901. Price 2s. net cloth ; 3s. net leather.

1. These are further instalments of the *Century Bible* which is under the competent editorship of Professor Adeney. The volumes deserve all praise for the beauty of their form, the handiness of their size, and the clear and tasteful print that delights the eye. In contents, too, they answer the requirements which the series has in view. The expositor's work is done, as a general rule, with care and thoroughness. Few things are overlooked which demand attention. The explanations are given without any parade of learning, in terms which any one can understand. Mr. Garvie's treatment of *Romans* is distinguished by the attention given to the great doctrinal terms. Occasionally he may come somewhat short of doing complete justice to Paul's ideas, as in the case of the Divine "election". But in general, the exposition of the great doctrinal terms follows faithfully and discerningly the lines of their history. They are carefully traced back to their roots in the Old Testament and the Jewish literature, and exhibited in the modifications and enrichments which they received in the new world of thought opened up by the Gospel. Excellent examples of this will be found in the case

of such terms as "reconciliation," "faith," "sin," etc. Still better, if possible, are the discussions of the terms "justify," "ransom," "propitiation". That the "justify" of the New Testament does not mean to "make righteous" in the sense of a *moral* change is very clearly shown. Mr. Garvie is equally satisfactory in what he says of the ideas of "redemption," "ransom," etc. Of the last he says with justice that it is "simply impossible to get rid of the conception of a ransom from the New Testament. Christian piety should surely be as willing to consider gratefully 'all our redemption cost' as to recognise confidently 'all our redemption won'."

2. Professor Bennett's expositions have the same good qualities of careful exegesis of the text, clause by clause and word by word, and scientific study of the ideas. It is impossible, of course, within the limits of a commentary of this bulk to deal with every question that arises. There are things which we should gladly have seen handled. In the case of the profound and far-reaching ideas of 1 John a fuller treatment would have been desirable. But it is remarkable how little we miss, and how continuous is the help that is provided for the reader. The introductions to the books are of much value, and there are some interesting points in them. The Epistle of James is judged to be such a letter as "the brother of the Lord" might have been expected to write, and to have no conclusive evidence negating that authorship. Those are held, too, on the whole, to be right who refer it to a very early date. The evidence is judged to be on the whole against the traditional authorship of 2 Peter. And as to 1 Peter, its literary relations to the rest of the New Testament are very carefully examined, and taken to be quite consistent with the view that it was written in "the late Pauline or immediate post-Pauline period". The conclusion reached is that there is no decisive objection to the traditional account that it was composed by the Apostle in Rome about A.D. 60-65. The exegesis of the Epistle is very well done. See, *e.g.*, what is said of the "foreknowledge of God" in i. 2 (as referring not to the characters of men but to God's own plan and working), of Christ *bearing* our sins (ii. 24), of the preaching to the spirits in prison (iii. 19, 20), etc.

3. Dr. Horton's contribution also is one of great value, and possesses a character of its own. It contains many acute and suggestive remarks, and always reads pleasantly. Where we feel something lacking at times is in its treatment of the doctrinal terms. The word "redeem" or "ransom" is a case in point. Dr. Horton accepts too easily the statement that the idea of a ransom paid by Christ to the devil prevailed from Irenæus to Anselm. That is a statement often repeated, but one which ought to be taken with large abatement. He goes on to say that the obedience of Christ unto death is "not a commercial or even a legal transaction," but one that "belongs rather to the circle of ideas covered by 'the grace of Christ'". But this is to offer an explanation which is no explanation. Every one admits that it is not a "commercial transaction". Every one will say with Dr. Horton that it belongs to the circle of ideas covered by the grace of Christ. But a legal transaction is something essentially different from a commercial, and Christ's work may be only more within "the circle of the ideas covered by the grace of Christ" if it has a relation to law and an objective side Godward as well as a subjective side manward. Mr. Garvie's handling of these great terms is better. We find, however, many examples of penetrating interpretation in Dr. Horton's volume. We may refer to his comments on the "mystery of godliness" (1 Tim. iii. 16), the "laver of regeneration" (Titus iii. 5), the bringing of "life and immortality to light" (2 Tim. i. 11-12), the case of Onesiphorus (2 Tim. i. 10) in relation to the question of prayers for the dead. The Introduction, too, is a very able piece of work. The discussion of the authorship of the Pastorals is judicious and well-balanced. Dr. Horton feels the attractions of the hypothesis ably advocated by such scholars as Harnack and M'Giffert, that in these Epistles we have authentic letters of the Apostle worked over and enlarged by a later hand. But he deems it too ingenious. He attaches more value to the painstaking investigations of Zahn, and comes to the conclusion that, on the whole, the balance of evidence is on the side of the traditional view.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

William Garden Blaikie : An Autobiography. "Recollections of a Busy Life." Edited with an Introduction by NORMAN L. WALKER, D.D. Second Edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 343.

This volume has grown out of notes of his life which Dr. Blaikie had prepared, and which by and by assumed the form and the dimensions of an autobiography. His friends have been well advised in giving these interesting chapters to the public. The editor has done his part well, providing an introductory sketch and estimate of the man, and the "Recollections" themselves are full of interest. Dr. Blaikie's life was indeed a busy one, and his sympathies were wide and varied. His work as a preacher, a Professor of Theology, and a Christian philanthropist won him deserved distinction. His contributions to literature were many; and his associations with men and women of eminence in different walks of life were such as a Scotch minister rarely enjoys. In these chapters he tells in his own way the story of his education in Aberdeen, his early ministry first in a quiet rural parish and then in Edinburgh, the public movements which he studied or took part in, his early literary and social ventures, his labours and fortunes as an editor, his Professorship in the New College, Edinburgh, his frequent visits to the Continent and to America. On all these subjects he has something to say that is worth saying. He has some good stories to tell, and he has experiences to chronicle which are of value.

From the first he took a keen interest in the condition of the industrial classes. He wrote nothing better indeed than his early series of papers on *Better Days for Working People*. He had the gift of organisation and did memorable service in connection with the organisation and management of the

Pan-Presbyterian Alliance. He did much excellent work as the editor of several journals, especially the *Sunday Magazine* and the *North British Review*. Among his numerous writings the one that will take highest rank probably is his *Personal Life of David Livingstone*. But others of them have made their mark and continue to enjoy a wide circulation. One cannot read this volume without feeling that he is brought into contact with a man of sterling work, varied gifts, and exemplary life. Even those who knew him intimately will rise from the perusal of these sketches with a heightened sense of what he was.

Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By FREDERICK G. KENYON, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum. With Sixteen Facsimiles. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. x. + 321. Price 10s. net.

From Mr. Kenyon it is natural to expect the best style of work in his own special department. We get that in this handbook, which is not less handsome in form than rich and reliable in its matter. It makes an important and seasonable addition to the number of books to which the English student of the textual criticism of the New Testament can turn with confidence. It strikes the happy mean between the meagre and the exhaustive in the treatment of its subject. Without attempting to embrace all that Dr. Gregory includes in the programme which he has been working out with patient labour for years, it gives all that the student requires, and does that in an admirably clear and telling way. All that is of real value in the description, valuation and history of the manuscripts and versions is placed at our disposal. The function of the science is carefully explained. The questions relating to the use of Patristic quotations as a branch of evidence are dealt with concisely and effectively. An excellent history of the science is given, bringing the exposition of principles down to Westcott and Hort's epoch-making contribution, and to the more recent developments of inquiry. A special chapter is devoted to the "Textual Problem," in

which, among other things, the question of the Western type of text receives careful and judicious consideration. Mr. Kenyon has his own views on many points, and they are always worth attention. He gives his adhesion on the whole to Westcott and Hort, but in an independent way and with reserves as to certain possibilities. His book will be greatly valued by all interested in this fundamental department of New Testament study.

A Historic View of the New Testament. (The Jowett Lectures delivered at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London in 1901.) By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 274. Price 6s.

To a large extent this book is a popular statement of the positions argued out in the writer's earlier work, *Exploratio Evangelica*. It is animated by a devout spirit which almost disarms the critic. It is written not for destructive ends, but with a sincere desire to accomplish an effective reconstruction of Christianity on the basis of a new reading of the forms in which it appears in the New Testament. It is an honest attempt to give such an interpretation of Christian history and Christian faith as may commend itself to "educated men," who are supposed to be growing more and more incredulous and estranged. And in the course of its general argument it says things now and again that are both true and suggestive. But allowing all this, we are still unable to regard it as successful either in its conclusions or in its methods. It aims at giving a purely "historic" view and at employing only the historic method of investigation. But it carries out that method very imperfectly. It is dominated throughout by a view of the world that at once rules out much that is contained in the primary sources of Christianity. It has an easy way of reaching its conclusions. In many cases it gives no indication of any ground for them except what is found in the writer's own preconception of what is historically credible. It accepts certain words as consistent with what Jesus might be expected to utter and rejects others as inconsistent and

impossible, for the simple reason that it seems so to the author as he cuts and carves on the historic documents to which we owe our knowledge of Christianity according to the subjective standard of his spiritual feeling or his own judgment of what is congruous. It discounts the whole series of the miraculous deeds and experiences of Christ with the exception of the healing miracles, which are co-ordinated with the modern phenomena of faith-healing. This elimination of the element of miracle is effected without regard to the object of the works, their connection with the words, or their relation to the Worker Himself. What is left us is a Christianity which has lost its living centre and author, and is reduced to a religion of ideas and in the main to one consisting of a lofty ethic. But this is not the faith that regenerated the world, neither is it the Christianity which is yielded by any investigation of its sources, the New Testament records, that deserves to be called scientific.

The Early Church, Its History and Literature. By JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Pp. 243. Price 1s. net.

This volume, which belongs to the series of "Christian Study Manuals," gives an excellent outline of the history of the Church on to the victory of Christianity under Constantine. The opening chapter describes the Jewish and Gentile preparation, concluding with a concise statement of the relation of Christianity to the Roman Law. The Apostolic Age, the period from Nero to Domitian, the Age of the Apostolic Fathers, that of the Apologists, that of the Old Catholic Fathers, and that of the Great Persecutions are then dealt with in succession. All is given in distinct and telling summary, and with the excellent feature of leaving points for further inquiry for the reader to follow up. Adequate attention is given to the literature of the Church, its organisation, the growth of offices, the rise and meaning of the early heresies, etc. The book is one that admirably answers the purpose of the series, and puts the results of extensive study in an attractive form at the service of the reader.

The Book of the Dead, an English Translation of the Chapters, Hymns, etc., of the Theban Recension, with Introduction, Notes, etc. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1901. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo, pp. xcvi. + 222; viii. + 225-526; iii. + 529-702. Price 3s. 6d. each net.

These make the sixth, seventh and eighth volumes of the series of "Books on Chaldæa and Egypt" edited by Messrs. Budge and King of the British Museum. They contain the translation given in the larger edition which appeared under the title of *Chapter of Coming Forth by Day* in 1897. That edition was the most complete that had been published, and in every respect an important undertaking. It is a great boon which the publishers have conferred upon us in issuing it now in this handy, tasteful, and extremely cheap form. The volumes are splendidly illustrated by a series of four hundred and twenty vignettes. The translation has been carefully revised, explanatory notes have been added, and other things done which make this edition more than a reprint of the other. Dr. Budge, while he admits of course the existence of corruptions in the text which in some passages amount to hopeless confusion, protests against the tendency on the part of certain writers on Egyptology to decry the *Book of the Dead*, and reminds us that the more it is studied the likelier is it that its difficulties and its dark passages will be explained. It is not easy indeed to exaggerate the interest of this strange religious book of ancient Egypt. Its chapters, as Dr. Budge says, "are a mirror in which are reflected most of the beliefs of the various races that went to build up the Egyptian of history, and to this fact is due the difficulty of framing a connected and logical account of what the Egyptians believed at any given period of their history". He has laboured hard at the task of making the religious literature and ideas of the Egyptians intelligible to us and accessible, and all students of the religions of the world owe him much. In these volumes we

see something, too, of his own views on important questions in Egyptology. He recognises the existence of an aboriginal North African race and the immigration of an Asiatic race of a higher order. He is of opinion that the latter race never succeeded in entirely remoulding and elevating the former. And in this ancient book, a book so ancient that even before the Theban Recension parts of it had become utterly obscure, he sees the ideas of the semi-barbarous African element contending for recognition with the superior and highly moral and spiritual beliefs which it owed to the presence of the Asiatic element in Egypt.

The Old Testament and the New Scholarship. By JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D., Rector of Saint Michael's Church, New York. London: Methuen & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 328. Price 6s.

This is another contribution to the *Churchman's Library*. It is one that answers well the purpose of the series of which it forms part. It is meant specially for "Churchmen," in other words for members of the Episcopal Church of England and its allies. But it will be of use to others besides these, and to the educated laity in particular. It attempts a good deal too much in truth for its limits. It falls into four main divisions. In the first part it deals with such fundamental questions as these—how the Bible has been and should be treated, what is to be understood by its inspiration, what is the teaching of the Church on the subject of Scripture, and what is the application of the doctrine of the Incarnation to the study of the written Word. This is an immense programme, and Dr. Peters gets through it in less than fifty-five pages! His capacity may well be the envy of his brethren. In the second part he takes up the question of Evolution and the Bible, giving a good statement of the development of opinion resulting in the higher criticism of the present day, and an estimate of the effect produced upon the general view of the history of the religion of Israel. The third part is devoted wholly to the Book of Psalms. Here we get a very fair account of the growth of the Psalter. In the fourth part

Dr. Peters gives a review of the results of archæology in relation to the Bible. Here he gives a special chapter to the book of Daniel, showing how archæological discoveries have confirmed the literary and historical evidence pointing to the late date.

There is a good deal in the volume that might well have been omitted. The chapter given to the story of the Prayer Book Psalter has little relevancy to the rest of the matter. The same must be said of the appendix on "The Virgin Birth". There is a great want of proportion in the selection and distribution of the matter. But the book will be useful to a large class, and it will be reassuring as well as instructive. One of the best-considered discussions in it is the one on our Lord's use of the Old Testament. On that subject Dr. Peters speaks with great discernment, in view of a careful examination of all the passages referring to it in the Gospels.

The Letters of St. Paul to Seven Churches and Three Friends.

Translated by ARTHUR S. WAY, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 223. Price 5s. net.

Mr. Way has experience of the art of translating. We owe to him renderings into English verse of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *Tragedies of Euripides*, the *Epodes* of Horace and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. He is far from satisfied either with the Authorised Version of the New Testament or with the Revised. The former is guilty of many offences, of leaving passages to be understood in a sense "totally different from that of the writer," of an "Oriental vagueness" in the sense it sometimes conveys in consequence of its limited handling of the prepositions, of inadequacy in giving the exact meaning of the original, etc. The Revised Version, as it is only a revision, is open to almost all the same objections. Mr. Way wishes to give us something better. What he attempts is neither literal translation nor indefinite paraphrase, but a version which will not "obscure the meaning of the original by the con-

densed literality of a word-for-word rendering," but make the "connection of thoughts, the sequence of subjects, the continuity of the original" clear by supplying the "necessary links".

This induces Mr. Way, among other things, to develop the meaning of metaphor, in the way in which he conceives the reader would at once "instinctively fill up the picture". It leads him also to print many sections in the form of hymns. Of these special features of this translation we have some remarkable examples. Among the paragraphs thrown into rhythmic form, to take but a few instances, we find 1 Thess. iv. 16-18 ("the hymn of the Second Coming"), v. 2, 3 ("the hymn of the Day of the Lord"), v. 5-10 ("the hymn of the Night-watchers"), 1 Cor. viii. 4-6 ("Confession Hymn"), xi. 23-26 ("hymn of the Lord's Supper"), etc. Of the expansion of figures we have illustrations in 1 Cor. xiii. 8, "love's flower-petals never fail"; 2 Cor. v. 4, "it is not that we would fain be disarrayed of the mortal body, nay, but rather overdressed with the immortal, that mortality may be drowned in the sea of life". There are many renderings of a better order than these, but there is much that is overdriven. There is a vivacity in the book, however, which compensates for some things that grate on the ear, and the modern reader is often brought in an unwonted way into the heart of Paul's thoughts and reasonings.

Travel in the First Three Centuries after Christ, with Special Reference to Asia Minor. By CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL, former student of Girton College, Cambridge, Lecturer in History, Westfield College, Hampstead. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price 5s.

This book begins with a statement of the rapidity with which Christianity was diffused in the first century, showing how intercommunication was maintained, and how facilities for travel such as never existed before were provided in the first centuries of the Roman empire. Very good sketches are then given of the different classes of travellers, the great recognised lines of communication North, South, East and

West, the road system of Rome, the lines of maritime transit, the risks of storm and piracy and the like, the main facts relating to river and lake travelling, etc. A special chapter is devoted to the story of communication in Asia Minor, in connection with which St. Paul's journeys are dealt with. Here we have a brief balancing of the pros and cons in the vexed question of the "Galatians" of the New Testament, the writer concluding for the South Galatian theory as the more probable view. The book is full of matter and is lucidly written. It is based on a study not only of Mommsen, Friedländer and other well-known authorities, but of the original sources. It is an intelligent and useful study.

Protestant Principles. By the Rev. J. MONRO GIBSON, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 171.

Dr. Gibson's book belongs to the series of *Christian Study* manuals. Its object is to "exhibit in a systematic form the chief principles held by Evangelical Protestants". It deals consequently with the controversy with the Roman Catholic Church and Theology, but it does so in an excellent spirit of fairness, moderation and charitableness. It begins (and this is one of its good features) with a frank recognition of what the Roman Catholic Church has in common with the Protestant. It proceeds then to deal in succession with the points of difference relating to the Word, the Work of Christ, and the Church of Christ. Its argument is directed also against all who hold by the sacerdotal view of the clerical office, and in particular against the Anglo-Catholics. There is at the same time a cordial appreciation of the work of Anglicans like Professor Moberly and Bishop Gore, and of the value of such books as the *Ministerial Priesthood* of the former and *The Body of Christ* of the latter. Perhaps the best section of the volume is that on the Ministry. But the whole argument is fairly and ably conducted, and deserves to be considered by those who hold the opposite position.

The Greek Catholic Church. By RICHARD BRINSLEY CASSAVETTI SHERIDAN. London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 70. Price 1s.

This small volume is made up of a paper read before the Exeter College Church Society in May last. It is an interesting, concise and sharp statement of the position of the Eastern Church. The writer leaves no doubt as to what that position is. With the utmost plainness and decision he sets forth the immemorial and persistent claim of the Greek Church to be the one Church, the whole Church, the true Church, the infallible teacher of mankind. He states the distinctive points in her doctrine, notices the few attempts at union, and in uncompromising terms explodes the idea of the possibility of any recognition on her part of the Anglican position any more than of the Papal.

Henry Drummond. By JAMES Y. SIMPSON. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. 164. Price 1s. 6d. net.

This is one of the latest additions to the tasteful "Famous Scots" Series. It is a sketch rather than a biography, and as such it will have its own place. The writer has the advantage of having Professor George Adam Smith's larger work before him, and he owns his indebtedness to it. But he strikes out a pathway for himself, endeavouring to show how Henry Drummond's mind and influence grew, and to give an estimate of his work. Mr. Simpson has also been able to make use of a considerable amount of new matter, consisting of letters hitherto unpublished, the draft of what was intended to form a preface to a new edition of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, etc. The book is well written. It will help many to understand Henry Drummond better in the several stages of his religious experience and his activity. The chapters which make up the second part and deal with questions of science and religion, particularly as they were put by Henry Drummond, are of special value.

An opportune addition is made to the already rich literature on the great Saxon Reformer by Dr. Martin Rade in his *Doktor Martin Luther's Leben, Thaten und Meinungen*.¹ It is a popular *Life*, addressed expressly to the people, not to the scholar, written with the view of bringing Luther close to them and helping them to see clearly what he was. The author's plan is to tell the story as far as possible in Luther's own words, in the direct, homely, vigorous, racy language with which he got at once to the heart of the German people of his own time. In this way we have page after page of vivid writing drawn from the Reformer's letters, sermons, books, etc. Nothing could be better for the purpose in view. The first of the three volumes into which the work extends deals with the period from 1483 to 1520. It gives a lively and attractive account of Luther's parentage, school-days, visit to Rome, and early conflicts, external and internal, on to his final breach with the Papacy. It also gives at length the most important documents and publications belonging to the period, the *Theses*, the *Address to the Christian Nobility*, the *Freedom of the Christian Man*, etc., and large extracts from the sermon on *Good Works*, the *Babylonish Captivity*, etc.

The second volume is entirely taken up with the narrative of the period from 1520 to 1525, the period of the Diet of Worms, the retirement in the Wartburg, etc., closing with the Reformer's marriage. Here again we have transcriptions of important publications, his sermons on John xx. 19-31, Philippians iv. 4-7, etc., and large extracts from his notable discourses on Luke ii. 1-14 and Psalm xxxvii., his public utterances in connexion with the Peasants' War, etc. In these we see him face to face with the people. The third volume covers a much larger field. It takes the whole period from 1525 to 1546. Here we get a good account of the origin and early history of the Lutheran Church, an appreciative esti-

¹ *Doktor Martin Luther's Leben, Thaten und Meinungen*, auf Grund reichlicher Mittheilungen aus seinen Briefen und Schriften dem Volke erzählt. Von Dr. Theol. Martin Rade (Paul Martin). 3 vols. Neusalza i. S.: Hermann Oeser; Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 772 + 746 + 770. Price M. 13.50.

mate of Luther in his domestic, ministerial and academic relations, and a touching picture of his later years, his last journey, his death and his burial. A very full and most useful index is added.

The work is to be looked at in the light of its declared object. There are respects in which it might be open enough to criticism. But as a popular representation of a great career it is certainly well done. It keeps its proper purpose steadily in view, and does justice to it. The personality, the life, the work of Luther, these are inexhaustible themes. Many hands may try their skill on them still, and much will be left for others to do. By the preparation of these volumes the author has done a service to the mass of the German people. It is to be hoped that they will be widely read. They will help to give the German people a new interest in the man to whom they owe so much. They will help them to understand his greatness, his European importance, his large, German nature, and what he did for the German nation in particular.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January, Professor Swete writes on "Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries". He remarks on the "significant absence in Ante-Nicene monuments of any reference to the adoration of Christ in the Eucharist". His opinion is that while the Church of that period "took Christ's words as true, and revered the Bread and Cup which He called His Body and Blood," we have no evidence to show that she "based on this belief and reverent attitude a system of practical devotions such as that which was afterwards built upon them". Dr. Hastings Rashdall examines "Dr. Moberly's Theory of the Atonement". Dr. Rashdall's own sympathies are with the views of Maurice, Westcott, and Ritschl. As might be expected, therefore, he does not favour Dr. Moberly's attempt to revive the theory of Dr. John Macleod Campbell, and affirm an objective value for Christ's work in the form of the oblation of a vicarious penitence. He follows Dr. Moberly's argument step by step, and discovers some weaknesses and confusions in it. We cannot indeed regard the view of the Atonement to which he seems to incline as adequate to New Testament teaching, to what sin is, or to the deepest Christian experience. It certainly did not satisfy St. Paul, and never could have done so, and it is one in which in many cases men of profound thinking and enlarging knowledge of human nature have been unable to tarry all their days. But Dr. Rashdall's criticisms of Dr. Moberly's book are often very much to the point, especially as regards a certain lack of clearness or coherence in some of its positions. He concludes by charging it with two great defects, *viz.*, a confusion "between an effect produced upon the character of the sinner and an obliteration of sin or guilt which takes place independently of any such effect,"

and a confusion "between the retributive view of punishment and the disciplinary". The latter confusion certainly appears in some measure. With respect to the former the case is not so clear. The effect on character and the effect on standing are indeed different. But the "traditional theology" which Dr. Rashdall thinks Dr. Moberly follows to his hurt does not contemplate the latter as taking place "independently" of the former. We should be surprised to find that Dr. Moberly himself so contemplates it. Under the title of "An Eirenicon from Culture," Dr. Sanday contributes a kindly, and even generous, but at the same time searching criticism of Professor Percy Gardner's *A Historic View of the New Testament*.

In the January issue of the *American Journal of Theology* Principal Grant of Kingston writes on "The Outlook of the Twentieth Century on Theology," expecting an increase of spiritual unity which will lead up to organic union, but also anticipating that as a preliminary to organic union the great Churches of the Reformation will re-write their Confessions and adapt them to our own time. The Rev. Abel Millard and Professor G. B. Stevens of Yale contribute interesting papers, the one on "Nathanael Emmons," and the other on "Horace Bushnell and Albrecht Ritschl: a Comparison". Professor Henry Goodwin Smith of Lane Theological Seminary contributes an important statement on the "Beliefs of American Indians". Much curious information is also given in a paper by S. K. Vatralsky on "Mohammedan Gnosticism in America".

The main articles in the January issue of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* are three in number. Professor Warfield contributes a second paper on the "Printing of the Westminster Confession," showing step by step how the Confession found its way into print in America, and tracing its course there from 1647 (at which date there was but a single printing press in the Colonies) on to 1895. Dr. Edward H. Griffin of Johns Hopkins University deals with "Two Types of Naturalism," comparing the systems of Spinoza and Herbert Spencer. Professor Vos of Princeton writes on the "Scriptural Doctrine of the Love of God," expounding first the Old Testament doctrine as it is given in the Thora and the other books, and then the New

Testament doctrine as it appears in our Lord's own teaching and in that of the Apostles. The paper deals carefully with the questions regarding the relations of the Divine righteousness to the Divine Love, the general and specific aspects of the Divine Love, etc. There is a long list also of reviews of books, all of them done with care. Among others we have a somewhat full and circumstantial examination of Professor George Adam Smith's *Criticism and the Old Testament* by Professor Matthew Leitch of Belfast, and a very able and incisive review of Gunkel's *Genesis*, bearing the signature of Kerr Duncan Macmillan, Berlin.

Among other weighty contributions in the first issue of *Mind* for 1902 we notice specially one by A. W. Benn on the "Later Ontology of Plato," and another by Professor J. S. Mackenzie on the "Hegelian Point of View". The former deals with the Platonic Conception of the *Soul*, the distinction between teleological and mechanical causation, the substantial identity of mind with its object, the discrepancies between the *Timaeus* and the *Republic*, etc.

The *International Journal of Ethics* for January opens with an interesting paper by Professor Höffding of Copenhagen on "Philosophy and Life". Mr. Bernard Bosanquet contributes a somewhat thin paper on the "Dark Ages and the Renaissance". There is a sensible discussion of the question of the "Modern Workman and Popular Control," by S. M. Lindsay of the University of Pennsylvania. But the contents of this number are popular rather than weighty.

The most remarkable article in the *Methodist Review* for Jan.-Feb., 1902, is one by President Warren of the University of Boston on "Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism—the Ineffable Name". It is a statement of a theory of the origin of the Divine name which has occurred also to Halévy and the Rev. G. Margoliouth of the British Museum, *viz.*, that the Hebrew *Jah* is identical with the Sumerian *Ia, Ea, Hea*, and that the distinctive name of the God of the Hebrews, therefore, is "in historic reality only the West Semitic form of East Semitic or Proto-Semitic *Ea*". Dr. Warren's more particular contribution to the subject is the way in which he

applies this equation of *Jah* = *Ea* to various points in the Old Testament. *Ea* being the god of all waters, whose special symbol was the serpent, and who was associated with diseases and their cure, a new light is shed on the call of Moses, his power to remove leprosy and to turn water into blood, as also on the crossing of the Red Sea, the passage of the Jordan, the libation of water to Jehovah recorded in 1 Sam. vii. 6, the signs asked by Gideon, etc. He suggests further that narratives like that regarding Balaam may be better explained in this way than by any of the schemes of text-dissection propounded by Wellhausen, Freiherr von Gall, and others. He closes with an expression of his conviction that "a serious study of the religion and world-view of the Semitic peoples in Mosaic and Pre-Mosaic times is to-day more likely to contribute to a just understanding of the beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism than any study of writings composed at so late a period as those of Amos and his successors".

The first issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for the year contains a paper by Aaron M. Crane on "The Cleansing of the Temple," the object of which is to show that there are insuperable difficulties in the narrative on the literal interpretation of it, and that these disappear if we take the "temple" in view to be the temple of Christ's body! Professor Frank Hugh Foster contributes an interesting article on "Professor Paine on the Ethical and Christian Trinities". A paper by Justus Newton Brown on "What is the Trinity?" reviews the usual statements of the doctrine, and propounds another expressing the idea that the term *Father* does not point to the relation which one constituent of the Godhead bears to another, but "suggests God's character and the relation which He sustains to mankind". Among other readable articles we have one on "Huxley and Phillips Brooks," by Dr. William Newton Clarke.

The following articles in recent issues of Theological and Philosophical Journals also deserve notice. "La nouvelle édition des lettres de Sainte-Thérèse," by Louis Valentin, *Bulletin de littérature Ecclésiastique*, Dec., 1901; "Die Bedeu-

tung der Landflucht," by Pfarrer August Ludwig, *Monatsschrift für die Kirchliche Praxis*, Dec., 1901; "La Missa Poenitentium dans l'ancienne discipline d'Occident," by A. Boudinhon, *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, Jan.-Fév., 1902; a "Further Collection of Latin Proverbs," many of them of very considerable interest, by Morris C. Sutphen in the *American Journal of Philology*, xxii., 6; a criticism of Harnack's *What is Christianity?* by John Welford in the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1902; a brief paper on "Critical Theology versus Church Theology," by Professor George H. Schodde in the *Homiletic Review* for Jan., 1902; a review of Zahn's *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, by Erik Christensen in the *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, iii., 1901; a paper on the "Western Text of St. Luke," by the Rev. W. Harloe Dundas in the *Churchman*, Jan., 1902, generally in favour of the theory of a double recension; a communication on "Ancient Egyptian Beads," by R. C. Clephan in the *Antiquary* for January; two papers in the January issue of the *Biblical World*, one by the editor on "Jesus' use of Hyperbole," dealing with the non-resistance sayings and similar absolute words of Jesus and the principle of their interpretation, and another by Professor Shailer Matthews on "The Social Teaching of Paul," which gives a careful study of the "social content of early Messianism"; an article by W. H. Cobb of Boston on "Primary Hebrew Rhythm," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, opposing the early views of Dr. Julius Ley and the theory of Professor Bickell (which he describes as "suicidal") and making much of the simple pendulum movement.

We have also to notice the twelfth volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*,¹ a publication which continues to be ably and successfully conducted by Dr. Arthur E. Gregory, furnishing a remarkable variety of good and useful matter suited to the purposes of the pulpit and the class-room, and to be cordially commended to the attention of ministers and teachers; an interesting and stimulating book by Edwin A. Pratt, *Notable*

¹ London: C. H. Kelly, 1901. 8vo, pp. 580.

Masters of Men,¹ containing a series of sketches of successful lives—those of Andrew Carnegie, William and Robert Chambers, Sir George Williams, George Tinworth and others; *On the Path of Progress*,² a series of sermons by Henry Latimer Jackson, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Sydney University, intended to enforce the need of a forward movement in the National Church, dealing simply and sensibly with such subjects as Loyalty, the New Learning of the Day, etc.; a pamphlet by Shaw Maclaren, entitled "Follow Thou Me,"³ being letters written on joining the Church of Scotland, laying some severe indictments against the modern Church generally, but written in a sincerely religious spirit and affirming the great doctrines of the Christian faith; *Bericht über die Literatur zur Religionsgeschichte, ausschliesslich des Christentums aus dem Jahre 1900*,⁴ a careful, useful, and welcome summary of an important section of the recent literature on the history of religion, contributed by Professor Baentsch and Dr. Lehmann to Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht* and published now in separate form; another part, viz., the eleventh, of W. Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*,⁵ a much needed work, and one which students of Assyrian will be glad to see progressing under the laborious editor's hand; a pamphlet on *Incense*,⁶ by the Rev. W. Harris Winter, A.B., B.D., dealing with certain views of Professor Sanday and Mr. Pullan on the subject, and giving much attention to the proper interpretation of Malachi i. 11, but also arguing out at length and with much force the non-Scriptural character of the ceremonial use of incense, its lack of support in the writings of early Church Fathers, and its illegality in the Episcopal Church of England as "declared again and again

¹ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 320. Price 3s. 6d.

² London: Elliott Stock, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d.

³ Inverness: Melven, 1901. 8vo, pp. 30. Price 1s.

⁴ Berlin: Schwetschke u. Sohn, 1901. 8vo, pp. 98. Price 3s.

⁵ Assyrian-English-German. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 641-704. Price 5s.

⁶ *Incense, viewed from Scripture and History*. Coatbridge: Pettigrew, 1902. 8vo, pp. 41. Price 1s. net.

by eminent lawyers"; *Babylonia and Assyria*,¹ by Ross G. Murison, M.A., B.D., Lecturer on Oriental Languages, University College, Toronto, a sketch of the history of these ancient world-powers, written in excellent style, thoroughly scholarly and reliable, with concise and instructive summaries of what is known of the civilisation, literature and religion, as well as the fortunes of these great peoples; *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*,² by the Rev. William Robertson, M.A., Coltness, and *Lessons on the Gospel of St. Mark*,³ by Rev. A. Irvine Robertson, D.D., Clackmannan, two recent additions to the series of "Guild Text-Books," very suitable for the purpose in view, expounding and illustrating the main points in the narratives in a capable, useful and practical way, and giving evidence of careful study; an edition of *The Book of Proverbs*,⁴ issued by Messrs. Gay and Bird as part of their "Bible Classics" series, a pocket volume in very attractive form.

Professor Strack has recently issued a third revised edition of his *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*,⁵ which first appeared in 1896. In addition to an outline of the grammar of Biblical Aramaic, the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra are given with various readings and notes. An excellent glossary completes the work. Its extremely moderate price puts it within the reach of every student. We have also received the same scholar's edition of the Mishnah treatise *Aboth*,⁶ also in a third edition. Professor Strack here provides a fully vocalised text with copious notes of this famous treatise, the study of which in the original forms the best possible introduction to the study of post-biblical Hebrew.

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 116. Price 6d.

² London: A. & C. Black. Pp. 154. Price 6d. net.

³ *Ibid.* Pp. 149. Price 6d. net.

⁴ London: Gay & Bird. Pp. 135. Price 6d. net.

⁵ *Grammatik des biblisch-aramäischen*, etc. Von Professor Dr. H. L. Strack. Dritte grosstentheils neubearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Price M.2.

⁶ *Die Sprüche der Väter*, etc. Dritte wesentlich verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M.1.20.

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Addendum *re* Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*.

On reviewing his review in the January number, the writer feels that he used one or two phrases which seem to ignore an element in the bishop's book referring to home reunion within certain restricted limits. It resolves itself practically into a single passage, but one which certainly deserved quotation, as it has wider possibilities than are explicitly contemplated in the author's own words. Speaking of the fact that in some churches, especially Rome and Alexandria, there were at first only two orders, so that the episcopate was subsumed under the order of presbyters, he says that this "has much to recommend it as a practical basis for that reunion between Episcopalians and Presbyterians which is one of the most obviously necessary tasks of English-speaking Christianity" (p. 142). As, however, this seems to confine the present or practical outlook towards reunion to a type of organisation but very slightly represented in his own diocese, and in England, as a whole, as compared with the older and more numerous non-Episcopal churches south of the Tweed, the reviewer felt that it hardly affected the general complaint he had to make.

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The Revised Bible—American and English.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the original tongues, being the Version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1881-1885. Newly edited by the American Revision Committee, A.D. 1901. Standard Edition. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 37 East 18th Street.

IT is somewhat surprising that so little notice has been taken of the fact that the English-speaking world now possesses two standard editions of the Revised Bible, an English and an American. It was anticipated when the work was in progress that that might come to be the case. What was regarded as a possibility, but not as the result most to be desired, has now become actual fact. We have before us the American form of the Revised Bible, the Standard American edition, issued under the authority of the American Committee and bearing the signatures of the secretaries of the two companies of American Revisers. The appearance of this book is a notable fact in the history of the English Bible. It gives more definite and unmistakable expression than ever was given before to the differences between the two bodies of Revisers in the general conception of what a Revision suitable to modern times should be, and to the more important points of divergence in the handling of the text, and in the rendering. It raises anew the question as to which of the editions of the Revision is to be preferred on the whole. It leads one to ask whether the differences are so numerous or so serious as to make it impossible to speak of the Revision as a unity. It turns our minds again to the way in which things have fared with the Revised Version since the day when it was received with impatient eagerness, hot from the press, by the expectant people, and to the likelihoods of the future that lies now before it on both sides of the Atlantic.

From the first the co-operation of American scholars was felt to be of the utmost importance. It was formally suggested as early as 7th July, 1870, in the Canterbury Convocation. In due time an unsolicited but official invitation was forwarded, Bishop Ellicott, chairman of the New Testament Company, sending a letter, and Dr. Angus crossing the Atlantic with authorisation to arrange matters. A plan of co-operation was drawn up, and a committee of about thirty members was organised by 7th December, 1871. Dr. Philip Schaff was chosen President, and the Committee was divided into an Old Testament Company, presided over by Dr. Woolsey of New Haven, and a New Testament Company, presided over by Dr. Green of Princeton. The Committee did not begin its work till 4th October, 1872, by which time the first revision of the Synoptical Gospels had been completed by the English Revisers and transmitted to their American brethren. The American Committee came into existence, therefore, informally, without any public American authorisation, and simply in virtue of the power vested in the English Committee by the Convocation of Canterbury. In the nature of the case it was not a Church movement. No American religious body was officially consulted except the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that Church declined to act officially. The Committee, however, contained members of nine different denominations, and had a sufficient representation of the best Biblical scholarship of the time. It worked all through with remarkable harmony as well as efficiency, on the same general principles as had been affirmed by the English Revisers and with the view of producing, by the labours of the two Committees, a revision which might be accepted by both countries. The New Testament Company concluded its work on 22nd October, 1880, and the *Documentary History* of the movement was issued in 1885.

There were some nice points to settle with regard to the relations between the two Committees, the agreement with the University Presses, and other matters. All difficulties, financial and other, were happily adjusted, however, in course of time, and the final arrangement, which was necessarily

of the nature of a compromise, worked well. It was to the effect that the English Revisers were to give special consideration to all the American suggestions before they concluded their labours, and were to allow the American Revisers to embody in an Appendix all the differences in reading and rendering which were deemed of importance and had not been adopted by the English body; while the American Revisers engaged to support the circulation of the edition of the English University Presses and to refrain from issuing an edition of their own for the period of fourteen years.

Our American brethren, therefore, have not been in haste to take advantage of their rights. They have allowed some years to elapse since the expiry of the engagement by which they bound themselves not to publish. Many editions have been issued in America, but not with their sanction or by their act. Immediately on the publication of the English edition more than thirty reprints appeared in America. One of these was produced by photographic process a few hours after the English edition came to hand. Some of these editions were not exact reproductions, but Americanised forms in which the Appendix was reversed. In some the American renderings were given as footnotes, in others they were placed in the margin. The hope which the American Committee had never ceased to entertain, that the American preferences, or most of them, might by and by be accepted, was extinguished when the English Committee was disbanded after the completion of its labours in 1885. The American Committee, however, having in view the possibility of a call for an American edition, kept together after that period, and continued its labours. Finding, as is said in the preface to the work now before us, that "the judgment of scholars, both in Great Britain and in the United States, has so far approved the American preferences that it now seems to be expedient to issue an edition of the Revised Version with those preferences embodied in the text," they have at last given to the public this special recension of the Revised Bible. It may be well to add that this is a very different

book from another which was published in 1898 in our own country with the title "American Revised Version with References". That publication simply transferred to the text the matter which had been consigned to the Appendix. The edition now issued by the American scholars is, as we shall see, vastly more than that.

It will be at once admitted that they are entirely justified in the step they have taken. It would no doubt have been most satisfactory to have had one and the same version for all sections of the English-speaking people. But there are advantages on the other side. There is something to be gained by having these two editions, and if the issue of this American edition gives a fresh impetus to the study of the version and quickens anew the interest in it which has been flagging, the gain will be all the more. The differences no doubt are considerable, but they touch nothing essential. A renewed comparison of the two forms only brings out more clearly the fact that they are not more than two recensions of one and the same version. Now that there has been time for reflection and public opinion has had a lengthened opportunity of forming, it will also be generally confessed, we believe, that in not a few cases the American decisions were the better decisions and might have been accepted by the English Committee instead of being relegated to the Appendix.

The extent and the nature of the differences between the two bodies of revisers are both made more apparent by the publication of this standard edition for the United States. The amount of the divergence is an interesting question. But it is difficult to determine it. The most careful calculation that has been made is probably that by Bishop Lee, a member of the American New Testament Company. Taking as the basis of his estimate certain parts of the work that were done *independently* by the American Committee, *viz.*, the first revisions of a portion of Isaiah, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Job, he brought out the general result that in about half of the whole number of changes the two committees agreed, while in the other half most cases admitted of easy adjustment. In the instance of the Epistle

to the Hebrews 476 out of the 913 changes made by the Americans coincided with those made by the English. In that of the Book of Job the *identical* changes amounted to 45½ per cent., while the cases of *substantial* coincidence amounted to 58½ per cent. The Appendix itself as we have it represents but the minimum of change. In at least 680 instances the Americans gave up their own preferences, and the materials for the Appendix¹ were to that extent reduced. Concessions were also made on the English side. Many of the suggestions of the American revisers were ultimately adopted by the English Committee, not a few of them of considerable interest. Examples of these are seen in "food" for "meat" (Matt. iii. 4 and elsewhere), "the Jordan," "epileptic" for "lunatic," "turn" for "be converted" (Matt. xviii. 3, John xii. 40, etc.), "seventy times seven" for "seventy times and seven" (Matt. xviii. 22), "the daughter of Herodias herself" for "his daughter Herodias" (Mark vi. 22), "Quirinius" for "Quirinus" (Luke ii. 2), "rulers of the Pharisees" for "chief Pharisees" (Luke xiv. 1), "teaching" for "doctrine" (John vii. 16, 17), etc., etc. Others were placed in the margin, *e.g.*, "the genealogy" for "the book of the generation" (Matt. i. 1), "authority" for "power" (Matt. ix. 6, 8), "alien" for "stranger" (Luke xvii. 18), "or, sanctuary" for "temple" (John ii. 19, 20, 21, and elsewhere), "fulness" for "full assurance" (Heb. vi. 17).

We shall have a very imperfect idea, however, of what this

¹A curious fact appeared with regard to the Appendix, to which attention was called by Dr. Schaff in his *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*. The Americans prepared a careful introductory Note to be prefixed to the Appendix. It ran in these terms: "The American New Testament Revision Company, having in many cases yielded their preferences for certain readings and renderings present the following instances in which they differ from the English Company as in their view of sufficient importance to be appended to the Revision, in accordance with an understanding between the Companies". For this the English Company, as it would seem without giving any explanation, substituted the heading "List of readings and renderings preferred by the American Committee, recorded at their desire. See Preface to New Testament."

American edition is and how it differs from our own, if we suppose that all that has been done is to transfer the matter in the Appendix to the text. The Appendix itself has been carefully revised. It had to be completed under pressure in order to prevent delay in the publication of the English version, which the people were so urgent to have. It did not satisfy the Americans themselves, particularly in textual questions. They have, therefore, not limited themselves to a simple incorporation of the matter of the Appendix as it stood into the text, but have reconsidered many of the readings and have inserted into the text now not a few of those that had been excluded by the conditions of the English vote. They have introduced in like manner into the body of the book a large number of renderings which for the same reason did not find a place. In some cases they have returned to the readings of the Authorised, or have withdrawn from preferences formerly intimated. They have made a number of changes for the sake of consistency (*e.g.*, a much larger use of the word "justice" for "judgment"), or with a view to distinction in terms (especially, *e.g.*, the distinction between the words "stranger," "foreigner" and "sojourner"), or on the ground of euphemism (*e.g.*, the substitution of "heart" for "bowels" in Jer. iv. 19, Lam. i. 20). They have carried out more fully the practice of replacing obsolete expressions by others more intelligible—the displacement of "his" or "her" by "its" in the case of "impersonal objects not personified"; the substitution of "who," "that" for "which" where personal objects are in view; of "are" for "be" in indicative clauses; of "a" for "an" before *h* aspirated; the removal of unnecessary or confusing Hebraisms, such as "mine eye spared them from destroying them" (Ezek. xx. 17), "they that may be to do the service" (Num. viii. 11), etc.

In the matter of punctuation they have returned in a good many cases to the way of the Authorised. They have used the colon less frequently and the hyphen more frequently. In some passages (Gen. ii. 5, xiv. 24; Ezek. xxix. 9, 10) they modify the sense by modifying the punctuation. They have paid special attention to the arrangement of the contents or

sections, and have made improvements in a good many instances on the paragraphs adopted in the English edition.

Among other changes which will now justify themselves on the whole to many on this side of the Atlantic as well as the other, we may reckon the introduction of the name "Jehovah" for the "Lord" or "God" of the English version in the Old Testament. It is true of course that "Jehovah" is not a correct representation of the Ineffable Name, but it is the nearest euphonious approach to it and it is a word long naturalised in English. It is to be preferred, therefore, on the whole. The Americans themselves, however, fail with the name "Jah". That name has its own value, and it is of frequent occurrence, but, while in other versions it has been inconsistently dealt with, it disappears here altogether. It is an improvement, again, to have *Sheol* uniformly used, where the English revisers vary between it and "grave," "pit," "hell"; the term "Holy Spirit" steadily instead of the variation between "Holy Spirit" and "Holy Ghost"; "try," "make trial of," etc., instead of "tempt," "temptation," where the idea of *evil* is not immediately in view; "demon," "demoniac," etc., for "devil," "possessed with a devil," etc. It is also a legitimate return to ancient practice to adopt the simpler titles of the books, dropping the "S." (= Saint) before the names of the writers and in the headings of the pages of the Gospels, the term "the Apostle" in the titles of the Pauline Epistles, the misleading words "of Paul the Apostle" in the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the term "General" in the designation of the Epistles of James, Peter, 1 John, and Jude, and the description of the writer of the book of Revelation as "S. John the Divine" (instead of simply "John").

There are other points of advantage which may be claimed with some reason for the American edition. There are other terms in the rendering of which it is better and more consistent. It preserves, *e.g.*, the proper distinction between the two Hebrew words expressing the distinct ideas of "assembly" and "congregation". It does away with the exaggerated "God forbid!" It deals on the whole very suitably with phrases for which good English usage can no longer be

pleaded, such as "smell thereto" (Exod. xxx. 38), "a fool's vexation is heavier than them both" (Prov. xxvii. 3). It deals with a freer hand than the English revisers allowed themselves with archaic, obsolete and obscure terms, and on the whole it must be admitted to be successful in a large number of instances both in the words selected for removal and in the simpler and more modern forms substituted for them. It relieves the text of such terms as "basilisk" for "adder," "chapiter" for "capital," "charges" for "offices," "coasts" for "borders," "duke" for "chief," "oil" for "ointment," "ouches" for "settings," "poll" for "cut the hair of," "in good liking" for "become strong" (Job xxxix. 4), "bolled" for "in bloom" (Exod. ix. 31),¹ "charger" for "platter" (Matt. xiv. 8, and elsewhere), "vain," "vanity" for "false," "falsehood"; as also such forms as "lade" for "load," "afore" for "before," "astonied" for "astonished," "wot," "wist," "listeth," "listed" for "know," "knew," "will," "would," etc., for which more is to be said on the other side.

There are other cases in which changes are made which are on the whole reasonable, but which are not carried out so successfully or consistently. We have instances of that in the term "spoil," for which a variety of words, "despoil," "plunder," "ravage" and others are now substituted. One or other of these is selected as best suiting the context or the particular idea, but the reason for the preference is not clear in all cases, nor is the word "spoil" in each instance either unintelligible or obviously incorrect. A better example is seen, however, in the use of "shall" and "will". This is confessedly difficult and disputable ground, and the attempt at greater consistency which is made here will not be regarded as eminently successful. There is also the interesting case of the rendering of coins. Certain inconsistencies and inaccuracies were left untouched by the English revisers. They had some justification for so acting, especially in the case of the *δηνάριον*, for which it is difficult

¹ The reference is wrongly given in the Preface, p. vi., as Exod. ix. 4.

to find any proper and universally applicable equivalent. But it is not easy to see why they should have taken "farthing" twice as the rendering of ἀσάριον and twice as that of κοδράντης, or "penny," "pence," "pennyworth" fifteen times as the equivalent of the δηνάριον. The American edition gives "mite" for λέπτον, "farthing" for κοδράντης, "penny" for ἀσάριον, and "shilling" for δηνάριον. In the passages about the rendering of tribute (Matt. xxii. 19; Mark xii. 15; Luke xx. 24), however, they still fall back on the Latin *denarius*.

There is one matter of some importance in which the earlier position as expressed in the Appendix is modified. That is the attitude adopted toward the appeal to ancient versions. The American revisers objected to the frequent references made by the English Committee to the versions and other ancient "authorities". They thought many of them of trifling importance and all of them too vague, as they also made more of the "extreme difficulty," as they put it, of correcting the Hebrew text by these. They laid down the absolute position, therefore, that "all renderings from the LXX, Vulgate, and other ancient versions or 'authorities' " were to be omitted from the margin. They now admit that this was too sweeping, and that there are some variations of the kind in view that are of sufficient importance to be recorded. They keep, therefore, about a sixth part of the references in the English revision, but make them more definite and specific in their statement.

There is, therefore, a very considerable number of American preferences that have reason on their side and that are likely to win a larger measure of acceptance after these long years of proof than they had when they were first declared. On the other hand there are a good many things of a different kind. It is to be regretted, for example, that in not a few cases the edition fails to print supplied words in italics where the words are of the nature of additions and interpretations. It carries to a needless length the process of removing archaic forms, and in this way it takes from the charm of some old familiar passages without bringing us any adequate com-

pensation in lucidity or in point. No imperative reason rising out of the requirements of intelligibility can be urged on behalf of such alterations as "find favor" for "find grace," "refine," "refiner" for "fine," "finer," "frighten" for "fray," "perverse" for "froward," "devise" for "imagine," "maiden" for "maid," "abundant" for "plenteous," "interest" for "usury," etc. And speaking generally it must be said that if the English revisers in many cases erred on the side of literal renderings, the Americans have gone now and then to the other extreme of obtrusively modern forms of speech and great freedom in translation.

There is much else to be said of this American edition than can be said at present. There are other characteristics of the American work of which we may speak on another occasion. There is much to learn from it. The book is admirably printed and does credit to the publishers, Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons. It is to be had at prices ranging from a dollar and a half to nine dollars. We hope a cheap, popular edition may be issued soon. In closing their preface to the New Testament section the editors express their belief that the volume "will on the one hand bring a plain reader more closely in contact with the exact thought of the sacred writers than any version now current in Christendom, and on the other hand prove itself especially serviceable to students of the Word". In this belief, they tell us, they "bid it anew God-speed, and in the realisation of this desired result they will find their all-sufficient reward". All lovers of Scripture will rejoice if the expectation thus expressed is made good.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Die Synoptische Frage.

Von Lic. Paul Wernle, Privatdocent an der Universität Basel.
Freiburg-i.-B.; Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr
(Paul Siebeck), 1899. 8vo, pp. xii. + 256. Price M.4.50.

THE CRITICAL REVIEW is probably not singular in allowing a notice of Wernle's *Synoptische Frage* to succeed one of his later work, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion* (1901). The work of a young author on the eternal critical problem is apt to be overlooked, even by those who are impressed, as many readers of the *Anfänge* have been, by what may be called his positive structure. But if the *Anfänge* is a remarkable book, the *Syn. Frage* is, in its own way, hardly less so. Perhaps it should be studied with most care by those whose feelings about the *Anfänge* are almost equally divided between admiration and alarm. Wernle does not profess to take up the Synoptic problem *ab initio*. His masters are H. J. Holtzmann, Weizsäcker and B. Weiss. He holds with them the double origin hypothesis (*i.e.*, Mark + the Logia Document), but declines to burden his own or his reader's imagination (as the two last-named authors do) with an *Original Mark* or an *Ebionitic Redaction of the Logia*. A refreshing quality of the book is its dislike of merely *possible* documents. A critic must have space—the larger the better—for possible documents. But the space is the lumber-room to which the mind consigns its unsolved problems. In the workshop all the space is needed for what is actual and what is probable. Following this principle Wernle finds it possible to bring into the workshop what some of his masters, perhaps without knowing it, had consigned to the lumber-room. An instance in point is the so-called Ebionitism of Luke. Wernle allows the *Ebionitic*—he prefers to call it the *Catholic* or *Catholicising*—element in the Third Gospel, but he finds much

to support the view that it belongs to the evangelist himself, the author of the Acts and the painter of the two centurions with their meritorious preparation for the evangelic blessing (Luke vii. 1 ff.; x. 1 ff.). Wernle does not, like Professor Ramsay, rehabilitate Luke as an historian, but he pays ample tribute to his originality and great literary skill. For instance, in regard to the large sections of Luke which break away from the Mark-thread (vi. 20 to viii. 3; and ix. 51 to xviii. 14), he thinks it reasonable to ascribe almost entirely to Luke's invention the "occasions" (e.g., our Lord praying or dining with a Pharisee) there provided for introducing the material taken from the Logia Document. Those who find such a result staggering, may be partly reassured by Wernle's emphatic refusal to ascribe to the same source the discourses of our Lord (e.g., the Prodigal Son) that are peculiar to Luke. As well, says Wernle, ascribe to Luke the origin of Christianity. An instance of Wernle's concession of the value of a lumber-room is his attitude to the Judaistic element in Matthew (v. 18 f.; x. 5; xxiii. 2 f.). In view of Matthew's quite pronounced and characteristic aversion to Jewish particularism (e.g., viii. 11 f.; xxviii. 19), Wernle thinks that among many recensions of the Logia Document (=Q) there must have been one of a Judaistic type (Q^J), and in view of the differing types of the same original in Matthew and Luke (e.g., eight blessings over against four blessings and four woes), he is willing to place in his lumber-room beside Q^J, a Q^{MT} and a Q^{LK}. On the linguistic question Wernle opposes a decided negative to all theories of Aramaic documents. The work of Dalman, Arnold Meyer and others has its place as a test of what may be primitive in oral tradition, but it has nothing to do with the literary structure of our Gospels, none of which (Matthew even less than Mark) is of the nature of a translation.

What then of the Aramaic Matthew of Papias? Wernle thinks that from the time of Schleiermacher criticism has followed a false scent in supposing that Papias meant by the *Logia* which Matthew wrote a mere discourse-document and not a full-fledged Gospel, which latter he regarded (Wernle

thinks quite erroneously) as the original in Aramaic of our Matthew. There *may* have been such a Gospel, but for the study of our Gospels it belongs purely to the lumber-room. There was certainly a Logia-Document from which Matthew and Luke borrowed, but everything points to its having been Greek. The yield of Papias to the Synoptic problem is at most the *name* Matthew, an apostle indeed, but one of whom we know nothing, for according to Mark—our sole primitive authority on the matter—the name of the publican whom Jesus called was Levi, the Son of Alphaeus (Mark ii. 14).

As regards the termination of Mark, Wernle concedes that Mark could not have meant to end at xvi. 8, but he is certain that neither Matthew nor Luke knew of the conclusion (vers. 9 ff.). Ver. 7 is sufficient to account for the closing Galilaean scene in Matthew, while the slightness of the hint about Galilee tempts Luke, the historian in the Acts of the movement that begins in Jerusalem, to adopt the traditions—oral rather than written—of appearances in and about Jerusalem.

In an appendix Wernle discusses the relation to the Synoptics of the Gospel of John, the Gospel to the Hebrews and the Gospel of Peter. Most will readily agree with Wernle as to the secondary nature of the two last, but Wernle's attitude to John may perhaps even to his own view bear some amending in the light of Wendt's work (*Das Evangelium Johannis*, 1900). In view of such a detailed apparent proof as Wendt has given of the composite structure of the Fourth Gospel, Wernle must give the shrift of a fuller discussion to the question whether there are not in that Gospel elements—narrative as well as discursive—which bring it nearer the level of what is most reliable in the synoptics than he has allowed.

Though no space has been given to criticism, this notice is too brief even for the purpose of praise. It conveys no idea of the thoroughness of Wernle's critico-literary work, nor of the singular deftness of its arrangement. Literary criticism of the Gospels can hardly be made easy, but Wernle has done much to make it as easy as possible, and even if

his work were no more (it is much more) than to make Holtzmann easier reading it would be worth our thanks.

The more thoroughly we deal with the literary problem treated in the *Syn. Frage*, the more distinct becomes the throb of the vital questions that lie behind it and give it an interest ever freshening and deepening.

1. Is there in the Gospels an element that is merely edifying, but has nothing to do with history—*whether?* or *how much?*

2. Is the miraculous element part of it—*whether?* or *how much?*

Probably most readers of the CRITICAL REVIEW have passed in both cases beyond the stage of *whether* and are asking *how much?* Yet even the remnant who take their stand at *whether* may learn something from the faith (if not the knowledge) of scholars like Wernle who are sure that the divine glory of Jesus shines in *spite of* as well as *through* the Gospels.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

Monasticism and the Confessions of St. Augustine.

*Two Lectures by Adolf Harnack, Rector and Professor, etc., etc.
Translated by E. E. Kellett, M.A., and F. H. Marseille,
Ph.D. London and Oxford: Williams & Norgate, 1901.
Cr. 8vo, pp. 171. Price 3s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR HARNACK is an idealist before everything. His power of wing is great, his flight bold and rapid, his contacts with *terra firma* comparatively rare. In order to sustain himself on air, he is obliged to discard the *impedimenta* of the concrete, and, once rid of them, the idea generates its own impetus; and the idealist is carried forward, like the poet's Camilla, over waving cornfield or tossing surge, without paying homage to gravitation. Of course this places him in sympathy with his subject, when discussing Monachism and its kindred formations. Benedict of Nursia, Hildebrand, Peter the Hermit, Dominic, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius Loyola, were each mastered by a great idea, and moulded themselves and the institutions which embalm their names upon it.

The principal factor which wrought in the early Western Monasticism was probably the outburst of all forms of social evil which attended the break-up of the Roman Empire and the rise of the barbarous kingdoms upon its ruins. This combined with the exhaustion for active good of a Church which "was no longer in a position to give peace to all that came to her and to shelter them from the world. She could promise a peace beyond the grave, but peace in the storms of life she could not secure. Then began the great upheaval" (p. 35).

How to rally from this cry of havoc and this spiritual decrepitude "the things which remained and were ready to die"; how to give them concentration and mutual support; how to form a home where the elements of spirituality might

reproduce and perpetuate themselves, instead of being swept down, scattered, pulverised, and lost in the thundering torrent of anarchy, was the problem which St. Benedict set himself to solve.

A great idea formed thus under stress of pressure is necessarily one-sided. And those who stand arrayed under its flag are like a phalanx which can only move upon one of its faces. Assume that after a century of effort they succeed in restoring a tolerable standard of society, their very success then reveals their peril. The pressure relaxes, an over-strain exhausts and an over-balance impairs effort. Then follow various stages and degrees of decadence and apathy. The Papacy takes every successive new movement into its bosom, to contract the *virus* of secularism there. A new idealist starts with a scourging reform, or modifies the old idea in a new direction. Every new order hunts the tail, so to speak, of the one preceding, exposes its weakness, declaims against its corruptions and seems to build upon its experience, and to learn wisdom from its failures; then follows its example, declines into inefficiency, becomes as salt that has lost its savour, and gives way in its turn to new-fangled models. Meanwhile the Middle Ages have run away, the *renaissance* has appeared, and human spiritual thought has come under the influence of a New Testament, rising as it were from the dust of those ages, clothing itself in the vernacular and multiplying itself everywhere by the mere mechanical agency of the press. These facts are partly touched by Professor Harnack, as follows:—

“Then (eleventh century) arose the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Præmonstratensians, the Carmelites and many other Orders. But the constant appearance of fresh Orders only shows that Monasticism, in alliance with the secular Church, was ever losing its special character. Each new Order sought to call back the monks to their old austerity and to drag them away from Secularisation; but in the very act of subjecting itself to the secular Church, it was annexed and exploited by the Church.”

The ideal indeed of Western Monasticism was one-sided from the first. Social life had become such a *vorago* of

iniquity that the only safety lay in cutting one's self off from it. Hence whatever was most anti-social became regarded as most elevating and purifying; just as to a large mass of the Reformers in the sixteenth century whatever was furthest from Rome seemed nearest to truth. Thus the Orders threw themselves with eager zeal into renunciation of property and marriage, and tended mostly to foster the notion of asceticism as an end in itself. What men renounce for themselves they are mostly ready to denounce in others; and the line which divides a counsel of perfection from a requirement of general observance becomes indistinct in the atmosphere of spiritual pride. Thus the Council of Gangra (A.D. 324) justifies some of its Canons as follows: "We write not these things to cut off any from the Church of God, who are minded to give themselves to an ascetic life according to the Scriptures, but only those who make such a life an occasion of pride, to lift themselves up above those who live in a more plain and simple manner, introducing novelties against the Scriptures and the rules of the Church. We admire virginity when accompanied with humility: and applaud continency, when attended with gravity and piety; but we also honour cohabitation in chaste marriage," etc. Every sentence of the above rebukes the spirit which either animated from the first the Western Monastic system, or was speedily imbibed by it.

The optimism of our idealist leads him to lose sight of corrupt and repulsive features which dog the course of monkery throughout, while they appear so early as to seem probably innate in it. He discusses the mediæval Papacy without a hint at the forged Decretals of the pseudo-Isidore—the broad, barefaced and wholesale falsehood which nursed a contagion of mendacity in all the Orders pledged to its support. There is probably none of the greater religious houses in this country which would have scrupled at forging a charter to its own advantage. The idea circulated universally, that the interests of the Order, the Papacy, or the House itself, were things so intrinsically sacred, that a lie or a forgery in support of them was more meritorious than the unvarnished truth which was hostile to them. It there-

fore became impious even to question them. Those forged Decretals emanated undoubtedly not from Pope Nicholas I. or his curia directly, but were hatched in some Gallican monastery in conjunction with some who knew the Romish tradition of the line of early Popes. They were greedily adopted by that Pontiff and his successors; and thus a common interest in a common infamy—one which all agreed to whitewash—was shared by the religious houses with the Papacy. The momentum thus given in the ninth century to mendacity culminated in the Jesuits of the sixteenth, and abides a living and moving force in the Ultramontist policy at this day.

These are some among the concretes which our idealistic professor prefers to sink out of sight, by which process he is able to impart a fascinating surface of terete rotundity to the subject discussed.

As regards the differentiation of the Eastern from the Western Monasticism, it comes nearly to this: The central Western patriarchate batted on imperial decay, and promoted monastic settlements in all countries which had formed the Western Empire, and more. Those settlements served it as the military colonies had served that Empire when it flourished, extending, recruiting, consolidating, satellitising it. The Eastern Empire did not decay, it fossilised; and contact with it tended to fossilise both the Church and the monastic system. Tzarism repeats Justinianism. The magic youth of the *Arabian Nights*, who was exactly half-man and half-black marble, is no bad type of it. We miss in the Eastern Church also any rousing influence like the friars—the “Salvation Armies” of the later Middle Ages (as the Crusades formed its S. P. G.) putting the eager question “Are you saved?” or its analogue and equivalent, at the corners of all streets, in tap-room and hostelry, in palace and in hovel. For lack of such agency, the Levantine monasteries still contentedly sleep the sleep of the just. At the very close of the monastic period, in a sky whitening with “renascence,” we have such an astonishing work as Thomas à Kempis’ great “*Imitation*”—

western monasticism's "last sigh," as it were. But on its strength and weakness this is no place to dilate.

The second part of the volume, on the Confessions of St. Augustine, is a noble contribution to his memory, and may be accepted with hardly a grain of critical reserve. Or if one must be made, it would be that the Confessions contain somewhat more of "psychological disquisitions on the Understanding, the Will, and the Emotions," than the somewhat sweeping negation on p. 128 allows. They differ indeed from the "moralising introspections of M. Aurelius" (*ibid.*) in having no independent human standpoint, but referring all to the *Deus Creator omnium*. A passage from *Conf.* X., xxv., will illustrate this:—

" . . . Veni ad partes eius [memoriae] ubi commendavi affectiones animi mei, nec illic inveni Te. Et intravi ad ipsius animi mei sedem, quae illi est in memoria mea quoniam sui quoque meminit animus, neibi Tu eras, quia sicut non es imago corporalis nec affectio viventis, qualis est cum laetamur, contristamur, cupimus, metuimus, . . . ita nec ipse animus es quia dominus deus animi Tu es."

The sections of the same Book X.; xxxi. . . . xxxvi., which might be headed *De Tentationibus*, illustrate the same thesis still further.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Demonic Possession in the New Testament: its Relations Historical, Medical and Theological.

*By Wm. Menzies Alexander, M.A., B.Sc., B.D., C.M., M.D.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xii. + 291.
Price 5s.*

THE study of demonic possession in the New Testament owes its recognised difficulty to the number of factors involved. There are obvious points of connexion with anthropological phenomena, both in the Semitic and in other fields of inquiry; physiological data are given in certain cases, which must be examined and explained; nor can the study as a whole be conducted without regard to the doctrine of the Person of Christ. Any one, therefore, who can hope to make any useful contribution to our knowledge of this subject must be able to approach it from more than one standpoint. It is the ability to do this (with a varying measure of success) that has enabled Dr. Alexander to write a fresh and vigorous book, distinguished by its breadth of view and its scientific method. It is interesting from beginning to end, and there can be few theological readers who will not find it instructive.

The author's general attitude to the problem before him is one of belief in the genuineness of demonic possession in certain New Testament instances, and of acceptance of Christ's power over this state as miraculous. But the result of his examination of the recorded facts is to limit the genuine cases to a much narrower area than is usually assigned. His particular thesis may be stated in his own words: "Genuine demonic possession, as set forth in the New Testament, contains an element that is natural, another that is supernatural. The former belongs to the category of mental disease and still continues; the latter belongs to the category of Satanic opposition and was summarily suppressed" (p. 12).

In support of this proposition he begins by a brief examination of the demonology of the Old Testament, including the degraded heathen divinities. The Septuagint and the Apocryphal books also are noticed, but most space is naturally given to a statement of Rabbinic demonology, with ethnic parallels. The New Testament phase of the subject is approached by asking: "What was the attitude of Jesus to the foregoing superstitions?" This is answered, not so much by an inductive study of the Gospel narratives, as by deductions from our Lord's general teaching about the spiritual world, His restatement of a pure monotheism, and His "true knowledge of Nature". It is evident that those who do not accept the author's Christology may criticise this procedure. The book shows weakness in its implicit use of certain theological assumptions, *e.g.*, the perfection of our Lord's earthly knowledge. It has already been said that the *a priori* cannot be excluded from this study, but the exact point of its introduction and the limits of its use should be clearly indicated.

The two following chapters are concerned with the "Medical Aspects of Demonic Possession," and this part of the book is specially valuable. The Synoptic narratives are studied comparatively and critically; it is a pity they have not been printed in parallel columns, by use of smaller type, rather than in successive full-page sections. The exegesis is independent and often striking, and the careful use of minute detail sometimes suggests Professor Ramsay's work. Three cases are taken as typical, those of the demoniacs of Capernaum and of Gerasa, and the boy at the Hill of Transfiguration. These are diagnosed as cases of epileptic insanity, acute mania, and epileptic idiocy respectively. With the help of data so obtained, other asserted instances of possession are examined, *viz.*, those of the Syro-Phœnician girl, the dumb demoniac, the blind and dumb demoniac, Mary Magdalene, the infirm woman, the Philippian Pythoness, the Ephesian demoniac. Some of the particular results should claim attention from future commentators. An attempt is also made to estimate the number of the "possessed" in the time

of our Lord, and the result reached is that there were about 12,000 insane and idiots in Palestine. This piece of unnecessary and insecure guess-work could well have been omitted, and a much fuller treatment given to the section entitled "The Mental Temperament of the People". The importance of the psychological factor in the evolution of Semitic demonology has not been sufficiently brought out by Dr. Alexander. Demonology is one theory of certain psychical and physical phenomena, which *we* explain in another way; the particular forms and categories of demonology are to be traced back to the ideas of personality which underlie them. To realise the gulf that separates the modern from the ancient psychology, it is only necessary to remember that the ancient world usually conceived the soul as a quasi-material *something*, and that it regarded man as accessible to external "spirit" influences in a way utterly foreign to our present day thought of self.

So far, Dr. Alexander's argument has been based on the natural phenomena of demonic possession, *viz.*, those which can be referred to mental disorder. A special chapter is now devoted to the elaboration of his particular thesis as to the existence of genuine demonic possession. He finds the criterion of this to be "the confession of Jesus as the Messiah or Son of God" (p. 150), which he holds to be the product of demonic inspiration, since it cannot be explained as the result of accident, clairvoyance, verbal information or genuine discrimination. The application of this test excludes such alleged cases as that of the idiot boy, the Philippian Pythoness and the Ephesian demoniac, which are explained on purely natural grounds. So defined, the cases of genuine possession are few, and are confined to the earlier portion of Christ's ministry (Mark i. 24, v. 7; and the general cases of i. 34, and iii. 11). In these there is mental disease, with the super-added presence of demonic agency. It is obvious that such a theory as this has too much of the *deus ex machina* in its constitution to commend itself to the scientific mind. The author is certainly led into an overstatement of his case when he describes it as "equally invincible" (p. 157) with

his conclusions as to the natural element. The theory might have been made a little more plausible by a comparison of Paul's principle, "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit," but in any case it seems inadequate and arbitrary. To say nothing of philosophical objections, it is open to the criticism that it introduces a differentiation of the cases of which the New Testament betrays no consciousness. When the author has gone so far in his reduction of these cases to the purely psychical, the retention of a "reserve" like this seems artificial and inconsistent, and due to dogmatic rather than exegetical reasons.

The remaining three chapters of the book discuss "The Beelzebub Controversy," "The Difficulties of the Gerasene Affair," and "Alleged Continuance of Genuine Demonic Possession". Beelzebub, "prince of demons," is distinguished from Satan ("Judas is the sole instance of Satan-possession"), and his analogue is found in Babylonian ideas. In regard to Christ's answer to the Pharisaic accusation, the author does not seem to have faced the theological issues involved with sufficient clearness of vision. He says Christ "uses, as the basis of His argument, the language of His opponents; *and He had a right to do so*" (p. 190). Similarly, in regard to the Philippian Pythoness, it is said, "Paul may have used an ethnic formula without endorsing ethnic doctrine". On the other hand, there is a special discussion of the question "Did Jesus practise accommodation?" (App. O), and the answer is a decided negative, with which few will not agree. It is doubtful if any intermediate point is tenable between the view that what Christ accepted must be true, and that which sees in His attitude to demonic possession a particular example of Kenosis.

The chapter on the Gerasene incident is frank, and does not try to conceal the real difficulties of the narratives. These are said to contain "a certain theory of this occurrence," and it is asserted that "the facts are separable from this theory". Dr. Alexander believes that Jesus did not regard the case as one of manifold possession, nor did He countenance any idea as to the herd of swine, whose stampede

is explained by the loud voices ("But above those wild shouts of the demoniac rose the voice of Christ"). The discussion of the loss of the swine owners borders on the ludicrous, *e.g.*, "The loss may have been diminished by retrieving the carcasses and utilising them afterwards". The closing chapter reviews the evidence available as to "possession," in sub-apostolic and later times, down to our own day, and brings together much interesting material. The author's conclusion is that "genuine demonic possession was a unique phenomenon in the history of the world; being confined, indeed, to the earlier portion of the ministry of our Lord" (p. 247). He thinks it was due to "a counter-movement of the powers of darkness" called into play by the Incarnation.

We do not think Dr. Alexander has proved his thesis, either as to the genuineness of demonic possession or as to the criterion of its presence, but he has written a very interesting and useful book which students of the New Testament cannot afford to neglect. Nineteen appendices complete the volume, amongst which those on Greek Demonology, Greek Medicine and Witchcraft are worthy of special notice. A good example of the author's welcome candour is seen in his rejection of the argument for the authorship of Luke based on its alleged medical details (p. 254, *cf.* p. 83). The style of the book is generally good, though the language employed is sometimes open to the charge brought by the author against Huxley of "unnecessary vehemence" (*cf.* "lordly hypocrites" and "saintly villains" of the Pharisees, p. 184). Out-of-the-way words are sometimes preferred, *cf.* "equipollent" for "equivalent" (p. 210). Authorities might have been quoted much more freely with advantage, *e.g.*, for some of the medical statements or anthropological detail. The reason given in the preface for the omission of such references—"this work is an original research, not a compilation"—rests on a misconception. Full and detailed references to sources never conceal the originality of their use from any competent student.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

The Book of the Psalms.

*Books IV. and V., Psalms xc.-cl. By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D.,
Regius Professor of Hebrew. Cambridge Bible, 1901. Pp.
cxii. + 303. Price 2s. net.*

The Book of Proverbs.

*Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes by the late A.
Müller, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Halle, and E.
Kautzsch, D.D., Professor in the University of Halle. Eng-
lish Translation of the Notes by D. B. Macdonald, B.D.
Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Nutt, 1901. Pp. 864.
Price M.5.50, bd. M.7.*

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament herausgegeben.

*Von Dr. W. Nowack, etc. Esra, Nehemia und Esther, übersetzt
und erklärt von D. C. Siegfried. Goettingen: Vanden-
hoeck und Ruprecht; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901.
Pp. 176. Price M.3.80.*

THE concluding volume of the *Psalms* in the Cambridge Bible is a good example of the careful scholarship which for the most part characterises that series. The introduction deals with the whole Psalter; although it accepts the principles of modern criticism, it shows a certain bias in favour of traditional views. It is, however, only right to say that the evidence is stated with scrupulous fairness, and that the conclusions are given as, for the most part, probable rather than certain. Many of the titles, we are told, "cannot be reconciled with the contents and language of the Psalms to which they are prefixed". But several psalms are held to be pre-exilic. Great stress is laid on the arguments for the existence of Davidic Psalms, and David is held to have

been the founder of the Psalter, but we cannot find—in the introduction at any rate (*cf.* below)—any explicit statement that the author is convinced that any given psalm is the work of David. He regards it as “doubtful whether any Psalms date from the Maccabæan period”. One new piece of evidence adduced is the presence in the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus of a psalm which is largely a cento of phrases from Book V. of our Psalter. Hence, it is argued, the Psalter was complete before the composition of Ecclesiasticus in B.C. 180. It is interesting to note that Professor Kirkpatrick accepts the recently discovered portions of the book as belonging to the original Hebrew, and not to a re-translation from the versions; but we doubt whether the text of these sections is good enough to be followed in such a case against the Septuagint.

Our author evidently has little faith in the various theories which “discover a metrical system in the Psalms, on the basis of quantity, or of number of syllables or accents” (p. lx.).

There is a very sensible discussion of the Imprecatory Psalms, the gist of which is given in the following paragraph: “It is important to observe that they are not dictated merely by private vindictiveness. . . . While it would perhaps be too much to say that they contain no tinge of human passion (for the Psalmists were men of infirmity, and inspiration does not obliterate personal character), they rise to a far higher level. They spring ultimately from zeal for God’s cause, and they express a willingness to leave vengeance in the hands of Him to whom it belongs. Retribution is desired and welcomed as part of the Divine order.”

Professor Kirkpatrick’s views as to the authorship and the titles are best illustrated by the separate introductions prefixed to the individual psalms. He seems inclined to discover pre-exilic psalms in these last two books, to an extent which would not be sanctioned by most modern critics, or, as we think, by the available evidence. Nevertheless he usually sets aside the statements of the titles. He does not ascribe xc. to Moses, or cxxvii. to Solomon; of the seventeen psalms assigned by the titles to David, he only accepts ci. Of Psalm

cx. he writes, "If we are free to choose, it seems best to regard the Psalm as addressed to David"—and therefore not spoken by David as our Lord's words are supposed to imply. In his introduction to this psalm Professor Kirkpatrick shows clearly that the authority of Christ is in no way involved in the question of its authorship. He quotes, with obvious approval, "the words of Bishop Thirlwall as given by Bishop Perowne, 'we are left very much in the same position with regard to the Psalm as if our Lord had not asked these questions about it'".

The recently published edition of *Proverbs* in Dr. Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* is simply a critical text with notes, for the most part, on the textual criticism. As in other volumes, the authors and editor have not been able to refrain from inserting here and there miscellaneous information which they have come across in their study of the text. But the questions of the composition of the book, and of the date and authorship of its various sections are not dealt with. No doubt these subjects are reserved for the English translation in the *Polychrome Bible*; but, as one special object of the series is to exhibit conspicuously the mode in which the books are composed, the text should have been furnished with headings and other indications of the authors' views. These are entirely absent. Several passages are merely represented by . . . , as being "corrupted beyond emendation," e.g., xiv. 7, which R. V. translates, "Go into the presence of a foolish man, and thou shalt not perceive in him the life of knowledge". This method is far better than printing an impossible reading or a purely speculative conjecture as if it were the true text. Toy's emendation should have been noticed in v. 2, and some reference should have been made to the uncertainty of the text in xxxi. 1. In the list of books on pp. 31, 32 we miss Cheyne's *Job and Solomon*. Assuming the correctness of the view taken here and in the *Polychrome Chronicles* that *tôrâ* is connected with the Assyrian *tertu*, we doubt whether it is rightly called a

Babylonian loanword, any more than "Church" in English is a German loanword from "Kirche".

In his *Esra, Nchemia und Esther* Professor Siegfried supports E. Meyer as against Kusters in accepting the substantial historicity of the account of the Return and the genuineness of the documents in Ezra iv.-vii. He rejects the decree of Cyrus (Ezra ii. 2-4). In the translation different kinds of type are used to indicate the various documents; we have not been able to discover any table giving a key to the varieties of type; but the reader will have no great difficulty in constructing one for himself from the introduction.

With regard to *Esther* our author follows Zimmern, Jensen, and Wildeboer in holding that the story is an adaptation of a Babylonian myth; that Mordecai is to be identified with Marduk, Esther with Ishtar, and Haman with the Elamite deity Humman. The original myth described the victory of the gods of Babylonia over those of Elam. We could have wished for a fuller treatment of the problem of this adaptation of a foreign myth to Jewish use. Purim is held to have been a feast in honour of the dead, and to have been connected with the primitive worship of ancestors rather than with the prophetic Jahwistic religion — neither God nor Jahwoh is mentioned in the book. Possibly the original myth was connected with a Persian feast for the dead, and the Jews borrowed the story because it seemed suitable for a similar function. The composition of the book is assigned to the Maccabæan period. The extreme brevity of the introduction is no doubt responsible for the absence of any discussion of the many difficulties of this position. Would a Jew of that period have adapted a Gentile myth? If he had would he have chosen a story which depicted his countrymen on friendly terms with a heathen master? It is true that Siegfried's view is also held by Cornill, Kautzsch, Wildeboer and others; but we should be inclined to follow Driver in assigning the book to the earlier Greek period.

W. H. BENNETT.

The Progress of Dogma.

By James Orr, M.A., D.D., Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 365. Price 7s. 6d.

THE *Progress of Dogma* is a series of lectures which Professor Orr delivered in the autumn of 1897, before the Western Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., and the Christian Public, as the fourth course in a series of lectures provided for by the Elliot Lectureship Fund. "It need not be said," says the lecturer in his preface, "that no attempt is made to deal exhaustively with the History of Doctrine. The design of the lectures goes no further than to provide broad outlines, which may suffice to illustrate the principles expounded at the commencement, and serve as an introduction to the subject." The class of readers whose needs Dr. Orr endeavours to meet are those "who, without being professed scholars, feel an intelligent interest in the trend of theological thought throughout the centuries". One object of the lectures is to combat certain of the positions taken up by Harnack in his *History of Dogma*; but in other respects the material of the lectures is the accumulation of years of thought and study. Within the limits thus imposed upon himself, Professor Orr has produced a valuable, timely and most interesting contribution to an important subject; and though he says that the volume "is not intended for proficients but for learners," there will probably be few proficients who will not feel that even they have much to learn from such a luminous and even fascinating treatment of the subject. The idea running through the lectures, which gives the volume its distinctive mark, is the relation of dogma to its history, and the parallelism of the logical and historical development. "How dogma has shaped itself in history, what law has guided its development, and what abiding value

belongs to its products" (p. 4). The lectures raise the question whether there is a recognisable law in the progress of dogma, and what its discovery may do for us in our attitude to theology now. Having disposed at the outset of those who would exclude dogma from Christianity altogether; and of others, such as Harnack, who regard the course which dogma has taken as a departure from the original idea of Christianity; and, having answered those who allege that criticism has so subverted the foundations of historical religion as to make dogma impossible, by saying that the same assertion would dispose of the entire Christian faith—Dr. Orr proceeds to define dogma as a synonym for "those formulations of Christian doctrine which have obtained authoritative recognition in wide sections of the Church and are embodied in historical creeds" (p. 12). Then he unfolds the purpose of his discussion, which is to show that the logical and historical order in the progress of dogma are coincident—that there is a singular parallel between the historical course of dogma, on the one hand, and the scientific order of the textbooks on dogmatics, on the other. "The temporal and the logical order correspond" (p. 21). The textbooks follow an almost invariable order, beginning with what may be called Theological Prolegomena, passing then to Theology proper, Christology, Soteriology, the Application of Redemption, and Eschatology. "If now, planting yourself at the close of the Apostolic age, you cast your eye down the course of the succeeding centuries, you find, taking as an easy guide the great historical controversies of the Church, that what you have is simply the projection of this logical system on a vast temporal screen" (p. 22). This coincidence forces the conclusion that there is a law of development underlying the arrangement, and that the law of these two developments—the logical and the historical—is the same. The textbooks place the doctrines in the logical order of *dependence*—the one forming the presupposition of the other. History reveals their development in the same sequence, and this is not merely a coincidence, but is due to the same law underlying both. "The simpler precedes the more complex :

fundamental doctrines those which need the former as their basis: problems in the order in which they naturally and inevitably rise in the evolution of thought" (p. 30). Dr. Orr contends that we thus obtain such a test of the value of theological doctrines as becomes a valuable criterion by which fresh developments may be tried. That, put in a sentence or two, is the task essayed by Dr. Orr, and in the performance of which he reviews the great theological periods of Church history. Dogma tested by history, for the history of dogma is the judgment of dogma, just as the history of the world is the judgment of the world. Doctrine an evolution, in which the system of doctrine embodied in the great Church creeds represents "the survival of the fittest," for a true evolution is organic, is a continuation of the developments of the past, not a reversal of them. That is the line taken in the lectures, with, as the lecturer contends, "the result that, instead of inextricable confusion in history, we see the creation of an organism: instead of fatuity and error, the gradual evolution and vindication of a system of truth" (p. 30).

In fulfilment of this plan there is passed under review, first, the controversy with Paganism and Gnosticism, out of which were evolved those general truths which form the early Christian Apologetic. Dr. Orr thinks that sufficient justice has not been done to Justin's apology, much of which he regards as by no means antiquated. The account of Origen against Celsus is lucid and interesting, and the general position taken by the lecturer is that, alike on its defensive, aggressive, and positive sides, the Christian Apology was able and admirable. There is, in passing, an effective refutation of Harnack's view that the apologists had no grasp of the distinctive nature of Christianity. It is granted that their habits of thought gave a strongly philosophical cast to their writings, and that they looked on truth with the apologist's eye; but Harnack's assertion that, to the apologists, "Christianity is a system of natural religion with supernatural sanctions," is neither warranted by the writings of the apologists, nor consistent with many of the admissions of Harnack himself. With equal success, in his fine

treatment of Gnosticism and its effects on the formulation of doctrine, does Professor Orr dispose of the charge of "Hellenising" Christianity, a strange task certainly for fathers to whom Greek philosophy was the parent of all heresy! The evolution of a Christian philosophy of the world from the conflict with Gnosticism is not to be dismissed as a mere process of Hellenising, for it was really in the line of sound development.

Then follow the various controversies of the third and fourth centuries—the Monarchian, Arian and Macedonian—in the course of which the Church came to its theology proper, its doctrine of God. Here Dr. Orr combats Harnack's contention that the writings of this period exhibit two Christological types, the Adoptionist and the Pneumatic, by showing that the former type is discovered by Harnack in the *Shepherd* of Hermas only, and that it is by no means clear that even Hermas teaches a purely Adoptionist view; and that what Harnack so describes is really the view of Paul of Samosata, that while in nature only man, Christ is raised to an honorary Godhead through the working of a divine power within Him. "This accords with a tendency quite prevalent in recent theology (that of Lipsius, Beyschlag, and many of the Ritschlians) to assign to Christ the predicate 'Godhead,' while not really recognising in Him more than man. . . . Godhead is not a thing that can begin in time, or be conferred as a degree of honour on any created being. This view, therefore, under all its disguises, remains a unitarian one" (p. 102). The discussion of the Arian dispute is very thorough, and goes to show that the creatureship of the Son being admitted, Arianism could run only one logical course: "and the logical stages are, as usual, virtually also the historical ones". The great task of Athanasius was "to rescue the Christian idea of God from influences derived from Greek philosophy which threatened to subvert it" (p. 123).

The chapter on the Augustinian and Pelagian controversy is specially good, and it is clearly shown that there were in Augustine two lines of teaching which are irreconcilable, his churchly and his doctrinal side, on the former of which he is

a Catholic, on the latter a Protestant; though even as a Protestant he extended the meaning of "justification to include, not merely the free forgiveness of sins, but the inward change which he supposes to take place in baptism" (p. 143). Baptism, as Augustine taught it, is also shown to run across his theory of predestination, and to confuse it. Always and everywhere, however, predestination is shown to have been rightly connected by Augustine with salvation. "It is the salvation of the believer viewed, if we may so say, *sub specie æternitatis*" (p. 152). Yet it is not easy, Dr. Orr confesses, to free the Augustinian view of predestination from the charge that it conflicts with the love, or rather, the Fatherhood of God. It is open to this charge, because he regarded the subject too exclusively in relation to the individual salvation, and not sufficiently in connection with an *organic view* of the divine purpose in its relation to the world and history.

A long discussion follows of the Christological controversies—the most unlovely in the history of the Church—and the general criticism is offered that the union between the divine and human in Christ which was postulated was, in each case, too external, "and probably the chief gain of our modern way of thinking on Christological questions is that it transcends this older dualism, and starts rather from the affinity of the divine and human, recognising a God-related element in human nature, as created in the Divine image, which furnishes a starting-point for the conceivability of the incarnation" (p. 176). The defect of the Chalcedonian creed is that "it states the factors for us, but gives us no help to a positive solution of the problem they involve" (p. 193).

Soteriology in the doctrines of Anselm, Abelard and Bernard is next reviewed, the special contribution of Bernard being "the idea of the organic relation of Christ and His people as explaining how the satisfaction of one should avail for many" (p. 231). The endurance by Christ of the penal consequences of transgression is the specific note in Aquinas: and it is shown that with the Reformation came the clearer light shed upon the way of salvation by the doctrine of

justification. It is noted also that the Reformers one and all, in Ritschl's words, "estimated the atoning work of Christ by reference to that justice of God which finds its expression in the eternal law". This is what lifts the subject out of the sphere of private rights which is the defect of the Anselmic doctrine. In asserting that the doctrine of the Reformers is "forensic," Dr. Orr wisely remarks that this element is necessary to any theory of the atonement which does justice to Scripture and conscience, and is demanded even by God's love and Fatherhood: for the love of God must manifest itself in reigning through, not in annulling righteousness.

As every doctrine has its hour in the historical development, the period of the Reformation saw the Church formulating the doctrine of the Application of Redemption. The Reformation principle of justification was rooted in the "religious self-estimate," as Ritschl calls it, of godly men, and, in that respect, stood in an unbroken relation to the past. "It was in its essence no new commandment which the Reformers taught, but an old commandment which the Church had from the beginning" (p. 254). Premising that "the Reformation creeds *do* give, and give practically for the first time a survey of Christian doctrine in all its great articles" (p. 282), the lecturer deals with the theological developments which have taken place on the basis of these Reformation creeds; and, while it does not fall to him to defend Calvinism from the shallow and often ignorant criticisms that are sometimes passed on it, much is done, and well done, in showing the true bearings of Calvin's teaching; though it is difficult to see why this criticism was not brought into closer connexion with the exposition of Augustinianism, with which it is vitally related. Dr. Orr frankly admits that Calvin errs in placing his root idea of God in sovereign will rather than in love: and that Calvin's doctrine of election "is not a conception in which the Christian mind can finally rest" (p. 293). Neither Augustine nor Calvin, in Professor Orr's judgment, took a sufficiently organic view of the divine purpose.

The transition to modern theology is made in a very interesting statement of philosophical thought from Descartes, through Kant, to Hegel. Kant's service to theology, in his vindication of the place of the practical reason and of teleology, is noted, and there is constant reference to the derivation from Kantian principles of the positive religious conceptions of the Ritschlian school. The colour given to modern theology by evolution and socialism is discussed; and the modern call for a new Apologetic, which recognises nature as having a moral end, is admitted as valid. The new Apologetic must seek to "grasp Christianity in its widest relations—as a religion, in its connexion with the general philosophy of religion: as historical, in its place and context as one of the great historical religions: as a religion of the Kingdom of God, in its relations with social strivings and the general world-end of Providence" (p. 320). This will afford a corrective to the demand of Ritschlianism that faith must be divorced from reason, and will show that Christian apologetic can never be satisfactorily separated from the positive exhibition of the Christian system. "If we are to defend Christianity, we must define what we are to defend. Christianity is its own best apology" (p. 322). The modern tendency to a doctrine of God which recognises the truth of His immanence—which connects itself with the idea of the divine Fatherhood—which has practically superseded federalism with the category of the Kingdom—is welcomed in the closing lecture. And "the trend of the higher philosophy, in laying stress on the dignity of man as rational, self-conscious spirit, and on his kindredness to the divine" (p. 327), is fully recognised as a necessary corrective to the tendency in older speculation to hold God and man too far apart. The limits of the application of evolution to theology, which in the main Dr. Orr regards as inevitable, are defined in the sentence: "evolution does not explain *origins*". The volume concludes with some wise and fruitful discussion of the place which Christology and Eschatology have come to occupy in modern thinking. The gain to Christology from modern ways of treating it is "that whereas the old Church

doctrine approached the subject of Christology predominantly from the side of the opposite predicates of the two natures, modern theology approaches it from the side of the receptiveness of humanity for the divine". "It will not be denied that the historical, scientific spirit of modern times has done much to rectify one-sidedness, and to give us an impression of the human Christ, such as the world has never possessed since the days of the first generation of believers" (pp. 334, 335). He takes an eclectic view of modern speculations on the atonement, asserting that "those who hold most strictly by the judicial view may find in them elements of assistance" (p. 340). And, like Canon Moberly, he welcomes the breaking down, by various forces, of individualism, as a way to the wiser statement of the truth of vicarious suffering. "Substitution will be interpreted through representation, the old idea of the Head suffering for the members" (p. 344). And, again in line with Moberly, he pays a tribute to McLeod Campbell's view of representative confession as an aspect of the truth on this subject which has yet to come to its own. There is no dogmatic pronouncement on the subject of Eschatology—Dr. Orr evidently feeling, with many, that a merciful uncertainty is a wise reaction from over-dogmatism on such a theme.

From this outline of the volume it will be seen that the history of dogma has been treated once more by a competent hand. And, despite the introductory chapter in which Dr. Orr lays down the law of the progress of doctrinal development, which throughout he seeks to discover, probably the chief value of the book is just that it is a history of dogma, written in view of everything that has recently been said on the subject. For the knowledge which the lectures suggest is worthy of the lecturer. Nothing escapes his observant eye. And the spirit in which modern restatements of theology are treated is admirable. It is open to doubt, when one has finished the volume, whether the claim made at the outset, that the logical and historical order coincide, has been made out: or whether it is even important that it should be. That the order in a textbook of dogmatic should coincide with

the order in which doctrines have been formulated historically, is not a convincing proof of a law of the progress of dogma. The textbooks are necessarily based on the history of dogma, as that closed practically with the Reformation. And, as Professor Orr himself points out, while the order is the prevailing, it is not the invariable one. The order was inverted by Dr. Chalmers, who began with sin as the disease for which a remedy is provided: and modern statements of dogmatic are fond of starting with the Kingdom of God as the goal of, and the key to, the divine purpose. And one is apt, as the author admits, to look with suspicion on all attempts to force history into systematic categories. Not that the faintest suggestion of a charge of manipulating history to suit his formula can be made against Professor Orr. The treatment of the historical process is eminently fair, and even judicial. But a man always, or nearly always, can prove from history what he means to prove. And surely he is rather absolute in saying that the history of dogma never returns upon itself to take up as part of its creed what it has formally, and with full consciousness, rejected at some bygone stage. In many ways Dr. Orr in his closing chapter exhibits this very return of dogma upon itself, in the development alike of phases of theology and Christology, which, in the formative periods of these doctrines were, if not rejected, certainly ignored. One cannot help looking charily on categories used as Baur and Hegel used theirs. But the question whether Dr. Orr has succeeded in quite making good that idea which colours these lectures, and may be said to be their special aim, in no way detracts from the value of a course of lectures which, for literary merit, exhaustive discussion of an important subject, and sane criticism, not to speak of their real interest, leaves nothing to be desired.

DAVID PURVES.

Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.

Von Emil Schürer. 3te und 4te Auflage. Erster Band : Einleitung und Politische Geschichte. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. 8vo, pp. vii. + 780. Price M.18.

THIS new edition of the first part of Schürer's well-known work appears just three years after the third edition of the second part, and the text of the whole work is complete in its new form. The indices to the whole are to appear shortly. In the meantime the former indices will serve as a general guide, for the pages of the older edition are inserted in the new.

The new matter is the great feature of this edition, the arrangement of the work remaining unchanged. Most of the additions will be found in the notes, with one or two interesting exceptions. They increase the bulk of the book by about 127 pages; thirty-seven of these being in the "Quellen," and ninety in the "Politische Geschichte".

As the author points out in his preface, some of the most striking additions are due to the recent finds of papyri in Egypt and the work done on these by scholars. In place of the dozen lines, which on page 53 of the second edition discuss the solitary papyrus there mentioned, we now have five pages given to an account of several. Five of these papyri have a curious family likeness, and all seem to refer to persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria. Two fragments relate the story of a conference in the time of Trajan—or possibly Hadrian; two others report a similar conference under Claudius; and the fifth a conversation between a certain Appian and one of the Antonines, either Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. The literary connexion of these fragments is difficult to determine. Their resemblance to one another in form and content is marked, yet they come from different

places, refer to events separated in time, and differ palæographically. They afford, however, still further evidence of the position of the Jews in Alexandria during this period.

In the section dealing with the taxing of Quirinius, Schürer makes good use of the discoveries of Egyptian ἀπογραφαί. We learn that in Egypt there were two kinds of such lists. (1) Every fourteen years each householder had to hand in a list of all the inhabitants of his house for the past year. (2) Every year each owner had to give a written account of his moveable possessions for the current year. How far this new information is of value for a knowledge of taxing in Syria is discussed by Schürer. The rest of this book is characterised by the author's undaunted attempt to take notice of all the literature of any value that has appeared in any part of his large field. In the matter of chronology, for example, he has been converted by Niese to a new position as to the dates of the Seleucid period. He now prefers to follow the dates given by Eusebius rather than those of Porphyry which he had previously adopted. A comparative table of the two sets of dates has been added, and with the following note adds much to the reader's ease in understanding the position.

In the section dealing with the history of the Maccabæan period Niese's work "Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher" has led to a fuller discussion of many points (*e.g.*, in notes 42 and 58). Schürer however still finds himself unable to acknowledge the source of 2 Macc. (Jason of Cyrene) as more trustworthy than 1 Macc. Niese's view is that 1 Macc. is only a working over of Jason in the interest of the Maccabæan dynasty.

In the history of Herod the Great, the chronology remains unchanged, but in a long note Schürer discusses and opposes the view of Kromayer that Antony's gift to Cleopatra of the Phœnician coast should be assigned to the year 36 rather than to 34.

English scholarship is not ignored in this edition, but Professor Ramsay has not converted the author on the subject of the identity of the lands of Ituræa and Trachonitis. Professor G. A. Smith is quoted against him and the literature

of the dispute is mentioned. The breadth of the author's reading is especially manifest in the supplement on the Nabataean kings. Here not only are the Nabataean inscriptions fully treated, but the work of Dussaud and MacIer on the inscriptions of Safa, which only appeared late last year, is used.

The above are only a few instances, taken almost at random, of what one can find in this stimulating book. Surely it is time now to have a new English translation of the work. The one we have is not as exact as one could wish, and is not sufficiently up to date. It is scarcely likely that the structure of the work will be changed in future editions, and further additions might be published in a supplemental volume, which could be consulted by those who wished to look up any particular detail.

G. W. THATCHER.

The Agape and the Eucharist in the Early Church.

By J. F. Keating, D.D., Canon and Chancellor, etc., and Principal, etc., Scottish Episcopal Church. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d.

A SMALL hand-telescope of higher power may stand as the type of book for which we are indebted as above to Dr. Keating. It concentrates effort on a compact area, and searches the field for all specks of evidence of every magnitude and for every filmy nebula of doubt which it contains. Looked at broadly, the question antecedently arises, *Could* any religion which started into existence in the period from B.C. 100 to A.D. 200 have failed to include some such institution as the Agape? To this the answer with overwhelming probability is negative. But the fact of a common feature being thus found to pervade three diverse religions, *viz.*, heathen-Greek, Jewish and Christian, does not imply that even the latest of them in date of origin derived it from either of the other two, although its collateral existence in all may have had a modifying influence as regards form. Thus the diverse ritual, so to speak, of the Agape, viewed as a Christian institution, may be explained, *e.g.*, at Corinth (as in 1 Cor. xi.) by the juxtaposition of Hellenic influence, or in the *Διδαχή*, by the Judaistic affinities perceptible in the treatise itself. As regards the former case our author cites (Appendix, p. 177) Neander's remark, that "There existed among the Greeks an ancient custom of holding entertainments at which each one brought his food with him and consumed it alone. The Agapæ in the Corinthian Church were conducted on the plan of this ancient custom, although the peculiar object of the institution was so different," etc. As regards the second case, the author remarks (p. 32) that the *Διδαχή* "is now generally believed to be a strongly

Judaising document". This belief is probably an overstrain; but the presence of the affinities noticed above is clear, and suffices to account for the tendency which colours the rules given in *Διδαχὴ, ι.*

It is curious that neither by the author nor by any of the numerous authorities whom he quotes is any influence on the genesis of the Agape ascribed to our Saviour's emphatic direction in St. Luke xiv. 12 ff., especially v. 13, "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, etc. For they cannot recompense thee;" a precept which suggests the *Agape* in its eleemosynary aspect—that in which the Christian apologists prefer to present it, as a bond of brotherhood between rich and poor. The closest approximation, however, to the *Agape* is found in the Jewish sects of the *Therapeutæ* and the *Essenes*. Any converts to Christianity from these bodies would doubtless bring their own influence with them. This accounts for the resemblance traceable between what we learn from Philo and Josephus concerning the festal practices of these sects (quoted pp. 25-31), and the notices of the *Agape* derived especially from Tertullian, with which Dr. Keating co-ordinates them (pp. 29, 30). The Saviour's rule above quoted is to the *individual* feast-giver, and stands in direct parentage to the form which we find the *Agape* assumed in a large array of "Church ordinances," especially in the third and following centuries (see Dr. Keating's 4th chapter). There the duties of the guests towards their host (*e.g.*, p. 115; "Let the bishop pray over the guests and him who has invited them") form a leading topic of regulation. The skilful industry of co-ordination between these various authorities, such as the Apostolic Constitutions, the Canons of Hippolytus, the "Testament of our Lord," the Egyptian Church Order and the remains of Egyptian Canons, will impress the reader with a sense of editorial aptitude, and will unfold a rich array of sources unsuspected by the early research of Cave and Bingham.

Bingham indeed was able to do little beyond sketching the subject in rather rough outline. He notes the way in which the *Agape* and the Eucharist were involved in each

other, and the different periods in which the former preceded, then the latter ; the final separation of the two, the exclusion of the *Agape* from the Church building, and finally its canonical extinction in the seventh century. It had, however, its survivals in various connexions, *e.g.*, in marriage and funeral feasts, in commemoration of departed saints, in the *panis benedictus* still distributed in Western Churches, and the *εὐλογία* of the Eastern. We may doubt, indeed, whether the "Church Ales" of our mediæval ancestors had not an "underground" connexion with it.

In Appendix II. a good sketch is given of "the Roman legislation on *collegia* and *sodalicia*" in relation to the *Agape* from the "Twelve Tables" downwards. A number of these were what we should now class as "Trades Unions". They were colourably beneficial or religious institutions, capable of plausibly cloaking occult movements against the authorities. The suspicious attitude of authority towards them in the earlier period is easily accounted for by the feebleness of police ; which also measures the extreme severity of penalties by which their suppression was enforced. Our author (p. 4) regards the "religious confraternities" as "more ancient than the trade or other secular corporations".¹ One of the oldest Roman inscriptions extant is the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, repressive of some improprieties or even enormities, believed to have become current and popular through an agency of female clubs about A. U. C. 566. At the same time some of the older "religious confraternities," *e.g.*, the *Fratres Arvales*, *Salii*, etc., were under the direct patronage of the early Roman republic. Accordingly this class was the first to escape from repression when that became the rule. "*Religionis causa coire non prohibentur*" is a passage from the *Digest* given on p. 183, of uncertain date of origin. The same passage recognises *collegia tenuiorum* as indulged. The Roman Government took over Greece by conquest, recognised gradually its higher civilization, and finding such fraternities

¹ This seems questionable : perhaps the fact is that they attracted the repressive efforts of authority earlier.

(ἐταίρια) everywhere, was tolerant of them as a custom racy of the soil. Hence inscriptions extant give us (p. 105) a "*collegium symphoniacorum*," a "*collegium dendrophorum*" and a "*collegium neon . . .*" (νέων? Cf. the *Collegia Juvenum* on p. 187). Trajan, however, seems to have set his face against the growing laxity. He was the one type under the earlier Empire of a military *princeps*. No doubt he did not wish during campaigns on the Danube to be troubled with organisations which might veil sedition in Bithynia. This brings us to his edict of repression, and to Pliny's famous letter—ground in direct contact with the Christian *Agape*, but ground lately trodden and retrodden by Dr. Armitage Robinson, Liebenam, Professor Ramsay, Mr. Hardy, and others. For the net result of their opinions we must refer the reader to Appendix II. of the volume itself,¹ one to be welcomed by all who have a student's eye for Christian antiquity.

Only a few minor points seem open to animadversion, e.g., the note on p. 47 regards as open to "obvious objection" a rendering of St. Paul's words, οὐκ ἐστὶ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν (1 Cor. xi.), which on p. 173 "seems to harmonise best with the context". And on pp. 55, 56 the statements concerning "the later meeting" of the Christian body in Bithynia and "the meeting in question" (with a comparison of Tertullian's phrase, cited, *antelucanis temporibus*) do not seem strictly to cohere. But these are surface blemishes only.

HENRY HAYMAN.

¹ See also p. 56, note 3.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity.

In two parts. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and an Appendix, Biographical and Bibliographical, by C. G. M'Crie, D.D. Glasgow : David Bryce & Son, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxxii. + 390. Price 5s. net.

ONE is glad to have at last a worthy edition of the *Marrow*. Dr. M'Crie has rendered a great service to all who are interested in the history of Scottish theology. It may seem ungrateful to regret that he has not done more. The theology of the *Marrow* has never been adequately expounded; and no one is more fitted to interpret that theology than Dr. M'Crie. By knowledge, by sympathy, and by hereditary right, he is amply qualified to do a work which must be done if the history of Scottish theology is not to remain the unknown land which in our day it has become.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity, a small and badly printed octavo, was published by G. Calvert, at the sign of "The Black Spread Eagle, neer Pauls," in May, 1645. It was offered as an irenicon, discriminating between Legalism and Antinomianism, and pointing out "the middle path, which is Jesus Christ, received truly and walked in answerably". The first edition of the *Marrow* was quickly sold out, and in the following year a new and greatly enlarged edition was published. In 1649 the second part of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* appeared. This addition was a detailed exposition of the Ten Commandments, expressing with great fulness the views of the author on the moral requirements of the Gospel. One edition followed another in quick succession, each "revised and corrected by the author," until, in 1650, the seventh impression was issued. In that year, apparently, the author died.

Dr. M'Crie's edition is based upon these earlier editions. Of these the seventh is the most accurate, and is really our authority for the text.

After the death of the author the *Marrow* was not again printed until 1668: that issue is the basis of the famous edition of 1718. In 1699 a new revision was executed by one whose name is withheld, but whose acquaintance with the Neonomian Controversy, then raging, appears to have been most intimate. It was brought out by Isaac Chauncy's publisher. The obnoxious phrases were omitted, uncouth sayings were pruned, and those passages which had been most vehemently objected to were "all smoothed according to the stile of the Westminster Confession". Hog of Carnock did not know of this edition in 1718. But there were some who thought that if he had made use of it, instead of the reprint of 1668, the Marrow Controversy might have been avoided. A careful study of the influence of the *Marrow* upon the Neonomian Controversy will throw light on some dark places in the later controversies which arose in Scotland.

In all the impressions which were issued during his life, the author of the *Marrow*, modestly willing to conceal his name, appended to the title merely the initial letters E. F. Samuel Prettie, a divine whose "orthodoxness" was vouched for by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and who, in turn, was one of those who added their testimony to the *Marrow* in 1646, gives us a punning clue to the identity of E. F. "God," he says, "hath endewed his *Fisher* with the net of a trying understanding". During his lifetime the author remained unknown except within a narrow circle. Between the years 1646 and 1654 several writers refer to the *Marrow* as if it were virtually an anonymous book. Later it was reported to Richard Baxter that the author was Edward Fisher, a barber in London. On the other hand, Anthony à Wood identifies the author of the *Marrow* with Edward Fisher of Mickleton in Gloucestershire, an Oxford graduate, and a ripe scholar. This identification of Wood's was received for a time without question, but is now utterly exploded. Dr. M'Crie does not speak as firmly on this point as the evidence seems to require.

The Marrow of Modern Divinity is a catena of quotations from the Reformers and early Puritans, pieced out with

original reflections and constructed in the form of a lengthened colloquy. In the first part alone there are more than three hundred citations drawn from ninety-one volumes, the work of fifty-four authors—German, French, Swiss, Italian, and English Reformers; along with Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, and “Sectarian” divines of the Puritan age. The books made use of are all in English, and their dates range from 1550 to 1645. Some of them are now very scarce. One of them—*The Prayer and Perfection of a Christian in his Pilgrimage*, by Master Gray—I have not been able to find. It was printed in London, in 1638, and was probably a mere brochure. It is of this Master Gray that Bakewell, a somewhat truculent writer, says that, when he became antinomian in his principles, “the Lord, in mercy to His church, smote him that he died”.

In his Appendix Dr. M'Crie gives much interesting information regarding those authors of whom Fisher made spoil; but the lists are not complete. There are also several mistaken identifications, as, for example, John Forbes of Middelburgh has to give place to Forbes of Corse, Edward Vaughan of Stretton Leafield to Richard Vaughan, and Nicholas Gibbens to John Gibbon.

Not only are the citations in the *Marrow* very numerous, but it is in them that the distinctive “Marrow Theology” is to be found. Principal Hadow waged war not with E. F., “barber and bookseller in the Old Baily,” as we suppose him to have been, but with Ezekiel Culverwell, John Rogers, John Preston, and Martin Luther. Dr. M'Crie has done us the great service of verifying many of these citations, and of separating them from the matrix in which they inhere, by quotation marks. Should a new impression of this edition be called for—and we trust it will—it would be of much consequence that this should be done with all. In very many cases an ordinary reader cannot detect the beginning or the end of the fragment extracted from an earlier writer. Occasionally it extends to a mere sentence or phrase; sometimes it covers more than half a page.

DAVID M. M'INTYRE.

The Pastoral Epistles.

A New Translation with Introduction, Commentary, and Appendix. By Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A., Arbroath. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Pp. vii. + 255. Price 2s. 6d.

Momenta of Life.

Essays, Ethical, Historical and Religious, by Rev. James Lindsay, D.D., of St. Andrew's Parish Church, Kilmarnock. London: Elliot Stock, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 146. Price 5s.

MR. LILLEY'S volume on the Pastoral Epistles forms one of the excellent series of handbooks intended for theological students, and is a valuable and careful contribution. Both in the Introduction and the Appendix, the author gives evidence of thorough acquaintance with the extensive literature on the subject, and as the result of his study and investigation he writes in full agreement with the traditional view of the authorship and value of these Epistles. The general Introduction, which extends to twelve sections, gives a clear and complete survey of opinion, ancient and modern, on the genuineness and substance of this group of Epistles, and of the various facts and inferences, drawn from Paul's history and from the writings themselves, that determine the keenly debated questions of date and authorship. Special notice is taken of Schleiermacher's influence in disturbing the traditional view of the integrity of the Epistles, and in suggesting that parts at least were of later compilation. Baur's scientific criticism is referred to as giving the next great impulse to anti-traditional views and to the theory of late composition. Baur held that the author was an adherent of Pauline Christianity who wrote about the middle of the second century and in opposition to the Gnostic heresy that was then active and threatening. Notwithstanding Baur's

objections, and recent modifications of his views by opponents of the authenticity of these Letters, Mr. Lilley stoutly defends the traditional position, and argues that all three Epistles were written after Paul's first imprisonment, and belong to the closing stage of the apostle's life (A.D. 66-67). It is maintained that the so-called rigid and developed church organisation reflected in the Epistles, and the particular errors controverted, are not incompatible with an early date, and that changes in theological teaching and literary style were naturally called for in altered circumstances. Holtzmann's objection to the Pauline authorship on the ground of style, and in view of the peculiarity that these Epistles contain no fewer than 171 "hapaxlegomena," is met by the consideration that Paul's mind was intensely active and versatile, and that like Carlyle he "seems to have retained the power of issuing fresh verbal coinage up to the close of his career".

The second part of the Introduction deals with the characters and contents of each Epistle, and this is followed by the author's translation and by a full and detailed commentary. The latter is, we think, exhaustively and well done and will repay study. The Appendix is of more than usual interest and, along with other topics, discusses more fully some of the points raised in the Introduction. The section on "Paul's Doctrine of Inspiration" (2 Tim. iii. 16) is valuable for its correction of the extreme and literal view adopted by theologians of the seventeenth century, and in America, who have confounded inspiration with "inerrancy". Mr. Lilley, in agreement with Dr. W. Robertson Smith, whose views he recalls, wisely admits that "the Scriptures are not necessarily flawless in mere matters of detail," and that "infallibility does not depend on mere formal accuracy". The author closes this able and scholarly handbook with a list of the chief works on these epistles, to which should now be added Dr. R. F. Horton's volume in *The Century Bible*. (On p. 39, second line, "initiative" is an obvious misprint.)

The essays which are here gathered together under the not very happy title, *Momenta of Life*, have appeared in different magazines and bear witness to the author's wide reading and independent thinking in the fields of ethics, philosophy and Christian theology. Indeed the number of academic and honorary degrees and the variety of offices as "Lecturer" and "Examiner," etc., held by Dr. Lindsay, and detailed in eight lines of the title page, remind us somewhat of the long names and titles of honour displayed by the Egyptian and Assyrian Kings, and prepare us to expect the amount of learning and the familiarity with philosophical and theological subjects that are shown in this small but suggestive volume. Of the seven essays which form the collection the first two trace the development of ethical philosophy and of Christian ethics. This development is viewed not in relation to the cultivation of particular virtues but in the deepening of the ethical consciousness, in the firmer grasp of first principles, and the clearer recognition of the metaphysical and theistic implications which lie at the root of morality. It is contended that ethical philosophy, if regarded as a purely natural science, lacks its root and foundation and is no better than a torso. In the sphere of Christian ethics, it is claimed that progress is still more observable. The new and all-embracing principle that distinguishes Christian ethics is Love. God appears as the perfect Good, and Jesus Christ as the perfect type or pattern realising this ethical ideal and end—"the new ethics was introduced when Christ bade men be perfect even as their Father in Heaven is perfect" (p. 53). Dr. Lindsay is earnest in emphasising the worth of the individual moral personality and in maintaining that Immortality, which is the summit of moral aspiration, must be personal and real. "No immortality of the positivist or of the materialist can satisfy our ethical ideals. We are, in fact, weary of sham immortalities, and crave that which is real or none. That of the pantheist cannot be a satisfying immortality, for personality has no justice at his hands" (p. 57). The importance of man's gift of individuality and personality

is emphasised also in the fourth essay on the Reformation or the Protestant assertion of liberty and revolt against blind authority; and, again, in the chapter on "Man and the Cosmos," where man is affirmed to be the crown and key of creation. Perhaps Dr. Lindsay's insistence on the reality of personality, and the importance of ethical individuality as the basis of moral action, freedom and immortality, is the deepest note and the most valuable feature of these essays. The chapters (iii. and v.) on Schleiermacher and Origen are interesting and sympathetic. Full recognition is made of Schleiermacher's extraordinary influence in renewing theology, but his defective hold on the Divine Personality, the risen Redeemer, personal immortality, and his imperfect view of the moral sense and sin, are equally admitted. Like some recent writers, Dr. Lindsay has been drawn to the study of Origen, and his chapter on this "ancient modern," like that on Schleiermacher, is filled with a glow of appreciation and of sympathy with the subject which makes these two essays lighter and more readable. Something might have been said on Origen's work as an expositor of the Scriptures and on his principles of interpretation. The last of the essays is a discriminating paper on "Mysticism," in which a Ritschlian representative comes in for criticism. "Herrmann is for ever coming to the knowledge of God but never succeeds, for Christ is for him no real way to the Father" (p. 144). This is not comforting nor quite fair to Herrmann. We conclude by wishing that Dr. Lindsay had written, especially in the two opening essays, with more regard to what he terms (p. 54) "the scientific interest of clearness". For after all, as Mr. Leslie Stephen has said, it is a philosopher's art to make his language intelligible to the outside world.

W. M. RANKIN.

Spiritual Religion.

(The Fernley Lecture for 1901.)

By John G. Tasker, Handsworth College. London : C. H. Kelly, 1901. Demy 8vo, pp. xi. + 179. Price 3s.

Muhammad and His Power.

By P. De Lacy Johnstone, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. (The World's Epoch-Makers.) 8vo, pp. xviii. + 238. Price 3s.

The Medici and the Italian Renaissance.

By Oliphant Smeaton, M.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. (The World's Epoch-Makers.) 8vo, pp. x. + 286. Price 3s.

THE Fernley Lecture for 1901 is a most readable book. We could not name a better summary of the freshest thought on the Possibility and Nature of Spiritual Religion. Professor Tasker has thoroughly mastered recent speculation on the subject, and from theologians, philosophers, and poets, he has gathered much valuable material. This he sifts and criticises so deftly and gives his own opinions so lucidly, that even on this abstruse subject the simplest may run and read. Professor Tasker's volume may worthily stand alongside Mr. T. G. Selby's *Theology of Modern Fiction* or Mr. Watkinson's *Influence of Scepticism on Character* in the same series.

The author shows how the religion and ideals of an age express themselves, and then proves from material science, from physiology, and from psychology that man is a "religious animal". He then turns to the Divine side and argues that God must be a Personal Spirit, and that communion between

God and man is not impossible. In nature, and in history, God has revealed Himself, but the Supreme Revelation was in Jesus Christ. To-day this revelation is manifested to men by the ministry of the Holy Ghost, the fellowship of the Church, and the co-operation of the believer in works of holiness. The book is full of good matter patly expressed: but pp. 137-140, where Christian experience and its relation to Holy Scripture is discussed, and pp. 156-160, where there is an excellent statement of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, are especially deserving of notice.

In *Muhammad and his Power* Mr. Johnstone sketches the state of Arabia in "the days of ignorance" before Muhammad's time. He then recounts the birth and life of the prophet, and traces the rise and progress of the Muslim Empire till the defeat and death of Husain at Karbala in A.D. 680. There is an interesting account of the composition, character, and moral value of the Qurān, and a short account of the origin of the Shia and Sunni Schism among Muhammadans. Mr. Johnstone follows the recognised authorities with commendable accuracy, but small slips occur here and there. On page 30 "Arsacid" should be Sassanid. The Arsacidæ were kings of Parthia, the Persian rulers were Sassanidæ. Then on page 108 Juwai-riya is correctly called "widow" of the slain chief of the Bani Mustaliq, but on page 110 she is called his "daughter". These small points, however, do not impair the value of an excellent handbook on the first fifty years of Islam.

Mr. Smeaton in *The Medici and the Italian Renaissance* has made every student of Italian history and literature his debtor. The Renaissance was certainly an epoch, and no family did more to propagate and extend the influences that sprang from the new learning than the Medicis of Florence. Mr. Smeaton has a graceful pen, and his style is a model for writers of history. He has laid the standard authorities like

Roscoe, Symonds, and Von Reumont under contribution, but he has supplemented those by research in many quarters. Accordingly he has given us a history of Florence in her palmiest days : a biography of the subtle Cosimo and the splendid Lorenzo : a picture of popes and cardinals who were humanists and politicians if not Christians, and he has sketched an account of an age torn by continual wars, and seething with spites, ambitions and intrigues. The estimate of Lorenzo's influence on the Renaissance, and of his patronage of arts and letters strikes us as especially valuable ; while the brief accounts of the leading scholars which the Medici gathered around them will make frequent consultation of this volume indispensable.

JOSEPH TRAILL.

Gereformeerde Dogmatiek.

*Door Dr. H. Bavinck. Derde Deel, 1898; Vierde Deel, 1901.
Kampen: J. H. Bos.*

It is matter for regret that this important work, the first and second volumes of which were noticed in this *Review*,¹ should be so bulky and should be in Dutch, for thereby many are excluded from a knowledge of it who would assuredly both consult and value it if it were more accessible. Its author, Professor Bavinck, is well known to those interested in the state of parties and theology in Holland as the scholarly representative of the (Free) Christian Reformed Church, now united (since 1892) with the body of dissentients from the National Church headed by Dr. Kuyper, at its theological institution at Kampen. This *Gereformeerde Dogmatiek* shows, what Dr. Bavinck's other writings evince, that his learning, gifts of thought, and power of doctrinal exposition place him in the front rank of modern dogmatic writers. His standpoint, like that of the Church of which he is an ornament, is believing and Calvinistic, even to the extent, one may feel, of ultra-orthodoxy. Yet one cannot peruse his volumes without perceiving that in every other respect he is a thoroughly modern man. His grasp of his subject is immense, and his acquaintance with the history of systems, with earlier and modern philosophy, and with the literature of theology in all its departments, down to the newest English and Scotch work, is well-nigh exhaustive. To these stores of knowledge Dr. Bavinck adds a spirit of profound faith and a faculty of logical and coherent thinking, arising from a clear hold of first principles. In its scope and completeness the present work reminds one of the days of the old theological masters, and it is certainly a sign of the times,

¹ Vol. viii., p. 308 ff.

and evidence of a revived interest in positive dogmatics in Holland, that such a work should be found lifting its head at all. Criticism of the work in detail is not to be thought of, but it may be of interest to indicate the general character of the volumes last published. In all, the *Dogmatiek* consists of four parts, in as many volumes. The first volume contained the principles of dogmatics, and the second made a beginning with doctrines, treating of the doctrine of God (knowledge of God, names of God, attributes, Trinity), and of the world *in statu integritatis* (creation, man). These two were formerly noticed. The third and fourth volumes complete the work—the former exhausting the doctrines of sin, of Christ, and of the application of salvation (benefits of redemption); and the latter dealing with the doctrines of the church, of the means of grace, and of the last things. The whole is admirably arranged, and at the close clearly summarised and indexed. It will be seen from the division that the main *doctrinal* interest lies in the second and third volumes. The third volume opens with a discussion on providence, which, the author points out, has two senses, that of foreseeing and that of providing. The first belongs to the doctrine of the attributes (prescience) and to the doctrine of the decrees (both under God). After creation, providence has to do, not with decrees, but with the execution of decrees, *opus ad extra*, continuation of creation. But here also there is limitation, for while providence in the widest sense embraces all the works of God, therefore also redemption, in theology this *locus* is confined to the common or universal relations between God and His creation (*conservatio*, *concursus* and *regimen* or *gubernatio*). The most profound and difficult questions in God's providence are those relating to His permission and government of sin. Four elaborate chapters are devoted to this subject (origin, nature, spread and punishment of sin), in which the various theories are reviewed and the view is strongly combated that sin is a "not-yet," or necessary moment in development. It is, the author holds, a *deformation*, or destroying of the original form of creation, *privatio actuosa*, which has its origin

in the will of the creature, and not in the nature of God or of His works. The recovery from this state of sin God does not accomplish by force, but in the way of love and mercy, of right and justice, that is, by a mediator. "The doctrine of Christ is not the starting-point, but the middle-point (centre) of the whole dogmatic." The discussion of Christ's Person is followed by that of His work, and this by the consideration of the *ordo salutis*, and of the special blessings of regeneration, justification and sanctification. Under the work of Christ (in humiliation) the main stress is laid on its aspect of redress of the right of God; not by teaching alone, nor by force, but in the juridical sense, in the way of obedience, of sacrifice, of satisfaction. By this Christ has restored the objective, juridical relation between Christ and the world. He has said, showed, proved, that God is in the right against the world. We are not criticising, or it might be argued that there is another side—the showing of God to the world—which scarcely has justice done to it. Without following the plan further, it should be evident that we have here a *magnum opus* on the old dogmatic lines which, by its very massiveness, cannot be without interest and instruction to any. It is certainly, in its combination of the old with a fulness of knowledge of nearly everything that is new, a most remarkable and able work.

JAMES ORR.

Reply to Harnack.

Das Wesen des Christentums. Vorlesungen in Sommersemester 1901, vor Studirenden aller Fakultäten an der Universität Greifswald gehalten von Hermann Cremer, Dr. Theol. und der Rechte. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Price 3s. 9d.

THESE lectures, delivered in reply to Professor Harnack's under the same title, show that, if Professor Harnack's lectures have elicited much admiration and agreement in Germany as in other countries, they have also provoked much determined opposition. The present volume is proof enough, apart from previous works, that Professor Cremer is not unfit to enter the arena against such an antagonist. Besides the solid qualities of scholarship and expository power which we associate with the best German work, the volume is instinct with strong feeling; the pages burn with passion. The author speaks from first to last under the conviction that all is at stake. The first of the twelve lectures bears the significant title "Which Christianity?" It is no use disguising the fact that the other school proposes a new departure of the most vital kind. If one side represents Christianity, the other does not. The presence and absence of such doctrines as Incarnation, Atonement, the Trinity, is much more than a superficial difference. In the present volume the difference is several times aptly put as the difference between a Christianity in which Christ is the object and one in which he is the subject of religion, or one in which he simply *teaches* the Gospel as any prophet might have done and one in which he *is* the Gospel.

The plan of Professor Cremer's volume is original and effective, and it is most ably worked out. Instead of dealing in criticism of details, he presents the entire conception of

Christ as contained in the New Testament, and then says in effect, "Look on this picture and on that: which is the true likeness?" He nowhere travels beyond the New Testament. His book, therefore, is without the brilliant discussions of the Christianity of after ages which form so important a part of Professor Harnack's course. Here the critical difference between the two representations emerges at once. To Professor Cremer the whole of the New Testament is the source from which he gets the answer to the question, What is Christianity? To Professor Harnack the first three Gospels alone are the source. It will be noticed that in the case of the latter, "Christianity in the Apostolic age," which includes Paul and the whole of the primitive Church, is placed on a level with Christianity in the four other subsequent stages. They are valuable as showing how the Gospel was then understood, but not one of these five interpretations has more authority for us than we choose to give to it. The narrow limit to which the sources are reduced is obvious. The fourth Gospel and the Epistles are shut out. This is a more contracted Gospel even than Marcion's in the second century. Indeed whether all in the Synoptics is retained, is doubtful, or rather it is not doubtful. The miraculous in the proper sense is everywhere struck out. Professor Cremer often quotes Professor Harnack's sentence, "Jesus Christ does not belong to the Gospel". Professor Harnack writes to a German periodical to say that here a clause is omitted: the complete sentence runs, "Jesus Christ does not belong to the Gospel, as Jesus preached it". Professor Cremer might reply, "True, but according to Harnack, this is the only Gospel. The Gospel as John or Paul preached it, is not acknowledged." Why the qualifying clause was added, is not apparent. Harnack's answer to the question, What is Christianity? is, "Christianity has three articles, The Kingdom of God and its Coming, The Fatherhood of God and the Infinite Worth of the Soul, The Better Righteousness and the Commandment of Love". Nothing else; and all these are taken from the Synoptics. Nothing from Paul or John, nothing of Christ's Deity or Atonement. "Jesus does not

belong to the Gospel" we understand to mean that Christ is not the personal object of faith, Christianity is merely the religion which Jesus taught and Himself practised, not the religion which consists in the blessings that follow from faith in His Death and Resurrection. How this is consistent with the teaching of the Synoptics and the position which Jesus assumes in them, we do not see, unless the Synoptics undergo a drastic excision; see Matt. xi. 28, x. 32, 33, 37. In the Synoptics too the Supper is instituted as a memorial of Jesus Himself. From other writings of Professor Harnack we learn that in his opinion the initial mistake of the Church was in substituting Christ and faith in Him as a person for faith in His teaching—the teaching summarised above. If so, the mistake was made early, by the very earliest Church, by the men who had companied with Christ and been trained by Him. The entire Church since has done the same. If Paul's and John's impressions were wrong, how can we be sure that those of writers in the nineteenth century are right? Indeed, if we understand our most recent teachers, we must distinguish even in the Synoptics between Christ's teaching and the report of the teaching by the evangelists. How are we to do this? We might go behind the Synoptics, if other sources of information were open to us. But where are they? Such speculations would land us in universal historical scepticism. We ought then to distinguish in the same way in Thucydides and Livy. That is, we ought to correct and excise and transform according to our own sweet will. And yet arbitrary dogmatism is a monopoly of orthodox theologians! If the New Testament is to be minimised and Christ's position transformed in the way proposed, it is not only the hymnology of the Church that must be revolutionised, but the entire thought and faith of Christendom in relation to Christ.

The impression given by many historians of dogma is that the ideas of incarnation and redemption are creations or fictions of later thought. Nothing can be farther from fact. Particular embodiments of these ideas are the result of later development, but not the doctrines themselves, as readers of

Professor Cremer's chapters on the Apostolic Preaching, the Preaching of Jesus in the Synoptical Account and the Johanne Account, will see. There we have the substance of later doctrine. The best proof that the doctrine is rightly inferred is that the only way of getting rid of it is to get rid of the documents. Professor Cremer's method is, we hold, the scientific and historical one, the opposite is the speculative one. The several chapters in the volume are luminous summaries of the Gospel teaching and history. The chapter entitled "The Work of Jesus, or His Suffering and Death, Resurrection and Ascension" is particularly fine. The old doctrine is put in modern phrase and defended on modern lines. It is indeed a rich, full, satisfying theology that is here set forth. The chapter on "The Miraculous Activity of Jesus" is a piece of strong, vigorous discussion. The only sense in which miracles are admitted on the other side is in acts which appear miraculous to us because of our ignorance of the resources of nature. Miracles like the Stilling of the Storm or Resurrection are repudiated. Our author shows that miracles are simply means to spiritual ends. Incarnation, redemption, forgiveness are the supreme miracles. How these can be retained when the lower miracles are denied is not said. The miracles are not solitary phenomena but parts of a system. A sinless Christ is as truly miraculous as the Stilling of the Storm or Feeding the Thousands. Yet Professor Cremer is open to new views of the function and place of miracle. "We do not believe in Jesus because of the miracles, but we believe the miracles because of Jesus." "We do not believe in Jesus because of His Resurrection, but we believe His Resurrection because we believe in Jesus."

J. S. BANKS.

Werturteile und Glaubensurteile.

*Eine Untersuchung von Professor D. Max Reischle. Halle
a. S. : Max Niemeyer, 1900. M.2.40.*

THE subject of value-judgments is exciting deep interest, much discussion, and even keen controversy in Germany, not only in theological, but also in philosophical circles. A right understanding of the question is essential for a just judgment of the Ritschlian theology. Nevertheless the statements on the subject in Ritschl, Herrmann, and Kaftan leave not a little to be desired in point of adequacy and lucidity of treatment. Otto Ritschl, the son and biographer of the founder of the school, some years ago endeavoured in a pamphlet, entitled *On Value-judgments*, to supply the deficiency and to correct the defect. Although this work showed a very marked advance on the previous treatment of the subject, and sufficiently and successfully met the objections to the theory, that it sacrificed the objectivity of religious knowledge, and the unity of human thought, yet it left some ambiguities, affording a free field for further controversy. A brief account of this controversy is given by Reischle to justify his attempt to offer a fresh treatment, of which it may be confidently said that it does carry us some steps further on our way towards a solution of the problem of the nature of religious knowledge.

An analysis of the conceptions of "value" and "value-judgments" is first given. "I assign a value," he says, "to an object of which on reflection I am sure that its reality affords satisfaction to my whole self, or would afford it, and indeed a higher satisfaction than its non-reality." "A value-judgment is a judgment in which a predicate of value is assigned to any object." Next it is shown that value-judgments may be arranged in order as they approach universal

validity. *Natural* or *hedonistic* value-judgments, which relate to our feelings of pleasure or pain, may be individual, collective, or general; but universal validity can be claimed only for the judgments in which a recognised standard is applied. These *ideal* or *normative* value-judgments are æsthetic, intellectual, moral and religious, and the ideas of beauty, truth, right and piety are their norms. Intermediate are the *legal* value-judgments in which law and custom serve as the standards. The most important contribution to the explanation of the subject is made in the fourth chapter, in which a careful distinction is drawn between the verbal, the psychological, and the epistemological points of view in determining the conception of value-judgment. From the first point of view, only the judgments "which assign a relation of value to an object as its predicate" are value-judgments. From the second point of view, the value-judgment must be accompanied by a personal valuation of the object; an emotion must be attached to it; it may express command, desire, affection, or satisfaction. From the third point of view, a value-judgment is "every judgment, the validity of which can be based, not on a necessity of perception and reasoning, only on the attitude of the man who feels and wills to the object represented". We affirm as value-judgments from the epistemological point of view those truths which we cannot perceive by sense, nor demonstrate by reasoning, but gain and hold as personal convictions. Such judgments Reischle proposes to call *thymetic* (from *θυμός*). The following chapter fixes the place of the propositions of faith among value-judgments as thus distinguished. Most of these are not verbally value-judgments, as they often affirm facts, and do not express values. Nevertheless it can only cause confusion to describe them as "theoretical propositions on the basis of value-judgments," as Kaftan proposes, as this would obscure the fact that they are value-judgments from the epistemological point of view. As a personal valuation more or less direct may be assumed in all propositions of faith, they are value-judgments from the psychological point of view, to which Otto Ritschl in his treatment confines himself.

That they are thymetic judgments is beyond question, for their basis is personal conviction. Determining them more closely they are not natural, or legal, but ideal judgments. Narrowing the circle further, they are not æsthetic or intellectual, but moral and religious judgments, as "they belong to the realm of personal valuations, on the basis of which alone a true personal life in practical relations to the world is shaped". But they are not merely postulates or demands suggested by man's rational, moral and religious necessities. They are "directed to a normative divine revelation," and so are "judgments of faith, that is, of trust". To sum up, "the Christian propositions of faith are thymetic judgments, ideal-personal, morally conditioned religious judgments of trust". The consequences of the whole discussion for the problem of the proof of the truth of the propositions of faith are lastly drawn. That this truth needs to be proved, and cannot be simply assumed, the apologetic efforts of Ritschl's followers show. Critics have held that the theory of value-judgments ignores this necessity and makes this assumption; but this Reischle emphatically denies, and makes good his denial by pointing to these apologetic efforts, and by offering a proof himself. Theoretical reason cannot directly decide the truth of the propositions of faith. It may reach a world-cause, but it cannot prove fatherly love in God. It suggests last questions it cannot itself answer. But there are necessary considerations of our practical reason which can be advanced as a proof of the truth of the Christian faith. (Here Reischle advances beyond Otto Ritschl, who denies the possibility of any such proof, and stops at the hope that his personal conviction will become general.) In this proof it must first be shown that Christianity alone gives a satisfying answer to the question. Can we in the moral struggle rely on the ultimate cause and final purpose of the world? Secondly, it must be shown that Christian faith is justified "in valuing the Spirit living in and working through the person of Christ as the divine Spirit that has power over the world". This Christian apologetic should, however, confine itself to what is morally valuable, and can be experienced as revealed. No

dualism of the theoretical and the practical reason is thus recognised, as it is the same person who thinks theoretically and practically ; and the two sets of judgments supplement each other, and may be combined in the unity of one world-view. This book can be most cordially recommended as offering both a correction of some errors about the theory, and as presenting it in a more intelligible and credible form than any previous work.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

Principles of Western Civilisation.

By Benjamin Kidd, author of "Social Evolution". London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Large 8vo, pp. vi. + 518. Price 15s. net.

EIGHT years ago, Mr. Kidd, an unknown name his was then, wrote a volume which at once arrested the attention of thinkers, and secured a popularity seldom given to books of deep reflection and far-reaching speculation. After a considerable interval of comparative silence, sedulous preparation and admirable self-restraint, he steps into the field again with a book which takes up the earlier subject and carries it to further issues. If his former contribution ranks as one of the most remarkable literary successes of recent years, this volume is not likely to be behind it in distinction or in the power of compelling attention. It is written in a style that is by no means either equal, or altogether clear, but which sometimes glows and is usually effective. It is pervaded by a spirit which is sometimes hopeful and at other times gloomy and heavy with boding, but always strong and living. It flings out ideas the worth of which will be sharply questioned; it prosecutes lines of reasoning which to many will seem fallacious; it makes for conclusions which will provoke keen dissent. In many things it will have to run the gauntlet of a criticism that may even be contemptuous, and it may not succeed in convincing many. But it is certain to be read, and it will make its power felt.

It is a bold, a soaring attempt. It aims at nothing less than a new synthetic philosophy, an entirely novel interpretation of the march of history and the system of things. The philosophy of which this volume gives the point of issue is to displace those systems which have been most characteristic of the century now behind us, and to expose their

shallowness, their lack of veracity, their unreason. It is to give us a profounder reading of things, one which, as it is partially expounded here, sometimes uplifts us and gives us visions of a vast majestic process, and sometimes makes us feel as if in the grasp of an omnipotent fate to which we are as nothing.

Mr. Kidd begins with an impressive chapter entitled "The Close of an Era," in which he calls our attention to "the characters and dimensions of a vast process of change which, beneath the outward surface of events, is in progress in the world behind us," and shows how the "great controversies, scientific and religious, which filled the nineteenth century, have broadened out far beyond the narrow boundaries within which the specialists imagined them to be confined". He closes his book with a great chapter which he calls "Towards the Future". In it he points us to the momentous empire which he sees before us in the new era, the universal empire the principles of which, he thinks, "have obtained their first firm foothold in human history in that stupendous, complex, and long-drawn-out conflict of which the history of the English-speaking peoples has been the principal theatre in modern history". He speaks of the transcendence of this empire, of what it represents, of its tremendous meaning. "It represents," as he puts it, "that empire in which it has become the destiny of our Western Demos, in full consciousness of the nature of the majestic process of cosmic ethics that has engendered him, to project the controlling meaning of the world-process beyond the present. All the developments that have hitherto taken place in our civilisation are but the steps leading up to the gigantic struggle now closing in upon us as the ruling principle of a past era of human evolution moves slowly towards its challenge in the economic process in all its manifestations throughout the world." In the intermediate chapters he elaborates the contrast between the old era and the new. He defines the essential point of difference. He criticises the phenomenon of Western Liberalism and other forms of thought, and applies a new criterion to the estimates of great historical, philosophical and economic

movements. The chapters on what is described as "The Development of the Great Antinomy in Western History," in which he expounds the conflict of ideas, the ceaseless and ill understood struggle of competing forces, the vast operation of half-recognised tendencies in the successive stages of European history, are of the profoundest interest. But all through there are more or less the same novelty and grandeur in the ideas, the same vast sweep in the generalisations, the same ambition to take all knowledge for the writer's province. At times one feels little short of overwhelmed, and is left uncertain whether he is grasping the great argument. But the tension happily finds frequent relief, especially in the expositions and criticisms of systems that but lately held almost despotic sway over multitudes of minds. One who remembers the days when the preachers of evolution and utilitarianism were thought to have brought us to the *ne plus ultra* in philosophy and science, when the apostles of materialism and agnosticism spoke with an authority that almost defied challenge, when the beliefs in the soul and immortality were thought to dissolve under the work of the laboratory, and the secrets of life and the universe were taken to be at the disposal of mathematical formulæ and statistics, has the delight of a vast surprise when he looks into these pages and sees how differently all is made to appear. These gods of the intellectual world of a century, a generation back, these great names of a Bentham, a Mill, a Huxley, a Spencer—what is made of them here? Purblind their guidance, shallow the waters into which they cast their lines, narrow, mistaken, provisional, their notions—antiquated theorists, touching only the surface of things with their elaborate, high-sounding schemes.

The great idea of the book is that of the ascendancy of the future. In expounding this Mr. Kidd takes up again the main positions affirmed in his *Social Evolution*, but carries them to further issues, to larger and better applications. In his former work he made remarkable use of the principle of evolution, and descanted on the struggle seen in human society between the interests of the individual and those of the social whole. His final statement was to the

effect that the evolutionary forces are working towards the greatest good of the social organism, not of the individual as such. But this conception of the greatest good as the end and aim of the evolutionary process meant, it was indicated, that that process looked to the generations of the future as vastly greater in numbers than the generation of the present. This latter is the master-thought which he elaborates in his new book. In doing this he employs again the leading principles and ideas of his former volume, but in a richer and more effective way. He gives them a larger, riper and more confident expression. He gives reason a better place, and evolution a more consistently teleological interpretation. He argues with a new insistency that utility is not the explanation of things; that a philosophy of the world which has that for its heart is of necessity a failure; that a new principle must be sought, and that this new principle is found in the idea of evolution when it was properly understood.

Here, therefore, he again accepts Darwin, but corrects and supplements the original Darwinian hypothesis. "Evolution," said Darwin, "leads to the improvement of each creature in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life." It works "solely by and for the good of each being". It makes for progress, but for progress "in the light of the individual's welfare in or relations to existing conditions". Mr. Kidd looks to the later developments and modifications of the Darwinian hypothesis, and says this is not the real meaning of natural selection. Its scope and aim must be vastly more than this. It works towards the production of the largest results. It chooses and conserves and develops advantages in the economy of nature with a view to the interest of the majority, but that majority is not in the present. It is in the future. "In the operation of that deep-seated cause in life," he says, "which makes it possible for the higher forms to maintain their places only by continuous rivalry and selection, it cannot be said by any stretch of the imagination that the advantage towards which natural selection is working, is one which is

shared in by the existing generation of individuals. With the resulting advantage accruing at a stage always beyond the limit of their existence this cannot be." "Other things being equal, the winning qualities must be those by which the interests of the existing individual have been most effectively subordinated to those of the generations yet to be born." Evolution rightly read is the ascendancy of the future, not that of the present. It is the sacrifice of the present to the future, of the being that now is to the generations yet unborn, of the individual to the social organism in its largest sense and widest reach.

Here, then, is the real meaning of evolution. It is something vastly different from the conception of it proclaimed so loudly by some of its most confident prophets, something vastly greater and more profound. It is well to study here Mr. Kidd's interpretation of it in his own words: "When we look at the statement of the law of Natural Selection as Darwin left," he says, "it may be perceived on reflection that there is a consequence involved in it which is not at first sight apparent. It is evident that the very essence of the principle is that it must act in the manner in which it produces the most effective results. The qualities in favour of which it must in the long run consistently discriminate are those which most effectively subserve the interests of the largest majority. Yet this majority in the processes of life can never be in the present. It is always of necessity the majority which constitutes the long roll of the yet unborn generations." The centre of significance is shifted. The change is expressed in the "principle of projected efficiency". This is the phrase that gives the master-thought of the argument. What the evolutionary process tends to is the control of the present by the future. "The controlling meaning of the process is tending ultimately to be projected beyond the present." This is the way in which the evolutionary process has been working from the first. It has not been apprehended; it has been grievously mistaken; but it is now discovered. And as it has been operating thus from the first so shall it fulfil itself continuously to the end. The

principles at work in it are principles "involving the subordination of the individual and all his interests, and even those of whole movements and epochs of time, to the ends of a process of life moving forward through the slow cosmic stress of the centuries". So then all history has to be read anew. This is the process that has been in view from the beginnings of human life. It is the key to man's history. The preparation for this principle of projected efficiency, its conflict with antagonistic forces, its partial victories, its occasional defeats, its triumphant reassertion, its certain march to ultimate sovereignty—there is the explanation of all that has been happening through the ages—in the changes which have taken place in society, in the rise and fall of the various forms of power, in the fortunes of nations, in the progress of civilisation, in the long story of men's political, economic, social, moral and religious ideas and experiences. The operation of this principle, the movement of this process, has not been understood. But it is now passing into recognition—"the historical process in our civilisation has reached the brink of consciousness". The fact marks a change of almost measureless importance and introduces a new era which will be greater and grander than all its predecessors. The real purpose and movement of things will become a part of the consciousness of man and will be definitely applied to the largest ends.

Mr. Kidd takes us over the great stages of history, and reveals their secret as he conceives it. What he discovers in them is the perpetual antinomy or conflict between competing interests, those of the past, the present and the future, but all tending to the triumph of the third. In the earliest and most rudimentary forms of civilisation the present is seen under the control of the past. *Power*, and in the succeeding stages more definitely *military efficiency*, were the controlling principles. The rise of the great world-empires, culminating in Rome, issued in due time in the liberation of the present from the control of the past, and the ascendancy of the present became the great note of the civilisation of antiquity. The birth of the Christian religion meant the entrance of a new

epoch that was to change the whole complexion of things. It introduced transcendent motives, the principle of the subordination of the present to the future, the law of self-sacrifice. Christianity itself reverted to the preference of power in its mediæval forms, and the significance of the Reformation lay in the fact that it was a return to the true idea of Christianity, a reassertion also of the principle that the spiritual is more than the temporal and material. How high is Mr. Kidd's estimate of the Reformation and its consequences will appear from these remarkable words: "Centuries are yet to pass before the real significance of the profoundly significant transition which has been accomplished is destined to fully permeate the religious consciousness of our civilisation".

What has he to say then of the present and what is his forecast of the future? He is not blind to the dangers of the present. He sees how low the ideals of man in many respects are, how far we are yet in the grasp of the ascendancy of the present, how tremendous is the tyranny of monopoly and capitalism, how threatening is the economic and industrial conflict, how much there is of an "uncontrolled and irresponsible scramble for profit, governed in the last resort by the qualities contributing to success and survival in a free fight for private gain". But he sees in the heart of this condition the cure for its evils. Even in the economic struggle, he discovers more than self-interest, or the absorbing thought of the present and the individual. In much of the action of the great States, in their economic arrangements, their legislation in favour of equality, their protection of the young and immature against the tyranny of the employers of labour, and in other things, he sees the beneficent operation of higher aims, of ideals that transcend the present, of principles that counteract the selfish forces which work to disintegration and destruction. Mr. Kidd's outlook, therefore, is hopeful. Gloomy as the aspect of the present is to the common eye, the note that he strikes is not pessimistic but optimistic.

To deal fairly with a book of this magnitude, abounding in novel speculation and far-reaching ideas, it would be

necessary to read it again and again. It is no doubt open to many criticisms. Its language is often strained and there is a tendency in it to coin extraordinary words—*normalcy* and such like. It is unduly hard on some of the thinkers whose speculations it repudiates or refutes. It is not always clear in the statement of the teleology which it recognises in the process of the world, or in the part which it assigns respectively to final causes and efficient. It gives, as we have said, a more definite place to reason than was the case in *Social Evolution*. But there is something lacking still in its treatment of the rational foundations of things. As to religion, it is important to notice how essential is the position which Mr. Kidd assigns to it, and in particular to the Christian religion, in the drama of history and the fulfilment of the evolutionary process. Yet one may well hesitate to accept the treatment given it here as a part of human biology. And there is a good deal that is doubtful in the view which Mr. Kidd takes of certain chapters in the history of the Christian religion. He has some interesting paragraphs on the heresies, in which he states his view of the issues which were at stake. The account which he gives of the greater heresies is remarkable for the insight it shows into the real meaning of these forms of belief and the significance of the Church's repudiation of them. It is not entirely accurate, however, in some of the details, and it makes more of some of the minor heresies than they perhaps deserve.

It must further be said, as we think, that there is a note of exaggeration in a good many of Mr. Kidd's judgments of things. He is so absorbed by his great idea that he cannot see that there is another side at any point of his argument. He fails, therefore, to recognise the existence of other elements in the ancient civilisations than those that speak for the ascendancy of the present. Historians of Greek thought are not likely to admit that his view of the Greek civilisation is adequate. The whole antagonism between the interests of the present and those of the future as it is carried through the story of nations in these pages is put too absolutely. There is also the final question whether "human biology"

holds the whole secret of life and history. One is ever on the brink of fallacy when he reasons from the biology of nature to the biology of society and man, and more especially so when he takes biological data as the master-key to man's whole story. But when all is said, it remains that this book leaves all utilitarian explanations of life behind, and shows that the true philosophy of the world must have the ideal, not the material, at its heart. It is a witness to the fact that there is more than matter and force in the system of things, and that progress depends on powers that are not selfish but ethical and religious.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Oxford Essays by John Richard Green. Edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss K. NORGATE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Globe 8vo, pp. xxxii. + 302. Price 5s.

THIS is a timely and notable addition to Messrs. Macmillan's admirable Eversley Series. It will be read with special interest in connexion with the *Letters* of the gifted author. "The papers represent an idea," we are informed, "which was constantly in Mr. Green's thoughts for many years—a History of Oxford." They deal with the "Early History of Oxford," "Oxford during the Eighteenth Century," "Young Oxford," and "Oxford as it is". They are enriched by a considerable body of valuable notes, and by an Introduction, which gives some interesting personal particulars, by Mrs. Green.

In these *Studies* the lamented author shows very clearly how poor an opinion he had of the eighteenth century in comparison with other periods, the Elizabethan, for example, and the Victorian. But while he has a keen eye to the faults of Oxford and its University in these times, he sees also into the deeper nature of things and finds not a little to appreciate and sympathise with. And everywhere the touch of the master hand is seen in these sketches. Instances of this that may be specially referred to are the descriptions of the "poor scholar," his duties and position, "the gentleman-commoner" and his liberties, the "toasts" of Merton walks and the "smoaks," the clubs, the races, the entertainments, the potations, and the tavern-life of the time, the state of the high-ways, the Jacobite prejudices and enthusiasms, etc. But the book is bright and attractive all through, and at the same time it has much to tell that is worth knowing for its own sake. It brings the Oxford of the past before us as if we were ourselves moving in it.

Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. By the Rev. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D., Students' Lecturer on Missions, Princeton, 1893 and 1898; Author of *Foreign Missions after a Century* and *Christian Missions and Social Progress*; Chairman of Committee on Statistics, Œcumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, New York, 1900; Member of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Syria. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1902. Pp. 401. Price 21s.

DR. DENNIS has earned for himself a foremost name among our authorities on Foreign Missions. He has laid all Christian people under lasting obligation by his former publications on this great subject. He has also been an indefatigable and enthusiastic worker in various branches of Foreign Mission enterprise. In this volume he sets the crown upon all his previous efforts. It is a book which it is impossible to criticise. We can only marvel at the patience, perseverance, and enormous pains which have been required for its production. It gives the statistics for the last century of the position, agents, operations, contributions, etc., of all the Foreign Mission Societies planted over the world. It arranges the information which it has amassed at vast cost under the several heads of *evangelistic, educational, literary, medical, philanthropic and reformatory, cultural*. It gives the particulars of the various training institutions, mission steamers and ships, etc., and adds to its usefulness by furnishing careful summaries, abundant indices, and a series of excellent maps. The laborious author is to be sincerely congratulated on the completion of an undertaking from which most men would have retired beaten. The churches and all friends of Foreign Missions should count themselves happy in having the volume. It will be found indispensable. It gives one a new idea of the magnitude of Christian effort in heathen lands, the progress it has made, and the wonderful success which has attended it.

Tetraeuangelium Sanctum, juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem, ad fidem Codicum, Massorae, editionum denuo recognitum, lectionum supellectilem quam conquisiverat PHILIPPUS EDWARDUS PUSEY, A.M., olim ex aede Christi; auxit, digessit, edidit Georgius Henricus Gwilliam, S.T.B., Collegii Hertfordiensis Socius. Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, MDCCCCI. 4to, pp. 608. Price £2 2s. net.

THIS is a contribution of exceptional importance to New Testament scholarship. With the utmost care and diligence Mr. Gwilliam has laboured for years on the text of the Peshitto Syriac, and he has now put into our hands in this handsome volume an edition of the Gospels in that version for which we owe him our most cordial thanks. He has followed up the painstaking labours of the late Philip Edward Pusey in the collating of MSS. with a view to a revision of the text, and has carried out the plan of which he gave an account in his previous publications of 1887 and 1897. The object which he set himself was to exhibit "the Peshitto Gospels as they were read, on the evidence of the MSS., in the ancient Syriac Church". In making that object good he has examined a large number of codices of dates extending from the fifth century to the twelfth, and representing the testimony of the undivided Syrian Church, the Jacobites and the Nestorians. The results are of great interest and importance. They support in the main the traditional text. They show that the text of the *editio princeps* of 1555 is nearly the same as that current when the MSS. used for this work were written; and that the Peshitto version was not corrupted in later times, its variations from the Greek text being proved to go back to very early times.

The book is admirably printed. The Syriac text is accompanied by the Latin. The various readings are chronicled at the foot of the pages, explanatory notes being also introduced where they are required. The learned editor is to be congratulated on the completion of a work which is a credit to English scholarship.

The Century Bible. General Editor, Professor W. F. ADENEY

Thessalonians and Galatians. Introduction, Authorised Version, Revised Version, with Notes, Index and Map. Edited by WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis, New College, London. Pp. 344.

Corinthians. Edited by J. MASSIE, M.A., D.D., Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford. Pp. 339.

Hebrews. Edited by A. S. PEAKE, M.A., Professor in the Primitive Methodist College, Manchester. Pp. 251.

Acts. Edited by J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A., Professor of Church History, Mansfield College, Oxford. Pp. 394. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. Price each 2s. net, cloth; 3s. net, leather.

THESE further instalments of *The Century Bible* will be gladly received. The plan of the series has been already explained in these pages, and it is enough to say that these volumes do justice to that plan and are no less attractive than those that preceded them. Each has certain features of its own, and in each there are certain peculiarities of opinion in matters of introduction or in the exposition of difficult passages. In all the historical and critical questions are dealt with, not only in a capable way but in an interesting style. The exegesis, too, is well done, due regard being had to the restraint, compression and omission imposed by the limits of space at command and the nature of the audience more particularly addressed.

There are some things in the introductions which are of interest. Professor Peake deals briefly but carefully with the problems of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He concludes in favour of Jewish Christians in danger of lapsing into Judaism as the persons addressed, holding that the force of such phrases as "falling away from the living God" (iii. 12) is not sufficient to weaken the evidence furnished by the general tenor of the Epistle. He fully recognises the difficulty of determining the destination, but prefers on the

whole the view that Rome is the place in question, and that the Epistle may be dated between the death of Paul and the Neronian persecution. He also accepts, surely far too easily, Harnack's theory that the Epistle emanated from Aquila and Priscilla, the latter being the actual writer, as the most probable explanation of the authorship. Professor Massie gives an excellent account of the condition of things in the Corinthian Church, the Church order, the parties, the ecclesiastical questions, etc. He also reviews with much care the debate about the unity of the Second Epistle which has been occupying many minds of late, bringing out very clearly the difficulty of keeping chaps. i.-ix. and chaps. x.-xii. in the same letter and in their present order, and suggesting that the severe letter was sent from Ephesus through Titus, and that when Paul met Titus with good news in Macedonia he sent him back to Corinth with i.-ix. and perhaps xiii. 11-14.

Professor Adeney discusses the problems of the Epistle to the Galatians at considerable length and in a clear and scholarly way. The most interesting section perhaps is the one in which he puts the question—"Who were the Galatians?" In reply he gives a very fair and well-balanced statement of the arguments for and against the South-Galatian theory and sums up in favour of it. Professor Bartlet's introduction to Acts is comparatively brief but much is compressed into it. He argues for a date somewhere in A.D. 72-75. He gives reasons for pronouncing against the prevalent theory that Luke's authorship is confined to a document underlying the "we" sections. He holds that there "never was a 'we' document apart from Acts," and argues that Luke was the "eye-witness also of what he records in xiii. 1-xvi. 9". It is of interest also to see that further study of the book has led Professor Bartlet to modify opinions which he once held. Taking Luke to have written the second half of the book on the basis of personal knowledge, he accounted for the rest of the narrative by the hypothesis of written sources behind the first twelve chapters. But now further familiarity with Luke's style and mind and methods of working has brought him to think that the

phenomena of chaps. i.-xii. are best explained as those of a narrative written on the basis of "notes of conversations with eye-witnesses and others in Jerusalem and Cæsarea touching those early days". And among such informants he would place Philip the Evangelist, Mary and her son John Mark, and Paul himself.

Regnum Dei. Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought. By ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, D.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Hon. LL.D., Glasgow; Hon. D.D., Durham; Principal of King's College, London; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Bristol. London: Methuen & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. xix. + 401. Price 12s. 6d. net.

PRINCIPAL ROBERTSON has been happy in his choice of a subject, and he has made an able and opportune contribution to our knowledge of it. It has attracted in recent times, especially in its New Testament forms, a vast amount of attention on the part of theologians. The social movements and aspirations of our day have also helped to direct men's minds again to it, and have given it a new interest. Much has been written on it on one or other of its aspects, though less on the one selected by Dr. Robertson for special treatment than on some others. Much remains yet to do, particularly in the study of the Biblical conceptions of the Kingdom, and something even in the history of the idea and its applications. Dr. Robertson's book is a welcome addition to the literature of the subject. It is an independent study, and is distinguished throughout by the qualities that make for genuine scientific inquiry. It gives proof also of wide and careful reading. In this respect, however, it must be added that there are some remarkable omissions. For one thing, there is no indication of any acquaintance with the best book on the subject in the English language—the late Dr. James Candlish's Cunningham lectures. This is surprising, indeed, as Dr. Candlish's very able book goes practically over the same field and gives

much attention to the history of the various attempts that have been made both in ancient and in modern times to embody the idea of the Kingdom of God in forms of government and social order.

Dr. Robertson's object is to "interrogate Christian experience as to the meaning of the Kingdom of God". This being the central purpose of his work, he devotes less space to certain fundamental inquiries than is usually given. He cannot of course leave the Biblical theology of the subject out of the scope of his investigation. He begins with that as is inevitable, and reviews its main particulars. This, however, can scarcely be said to get adequate notice, and it is here that the volume will be felt to be lacking. The pre-Christian doctrine of the Kingdom, including all its Old Testament development, is dismissed in less than thirty pages. It is impossible to do justice to so vast a theme within these limits. So we find the scantiest reference made to the positions of the great Old Testament scholars, while our best authorities on the theology of the Old Testament are little noticed. In most things Dr. Robertson seems content to follow Dr. Charles, though he does so with repeated expressions of his dissent from his ways of disposing of important passages of the Hebrew Scripture. The New Testament doctrine is dealt with more at length. Even there one misses much, especially as regards recent contributions made by German scholars to particular aspects of our Lord's own teaching and that of the Apostles, the question whether the Kingdom in the one or in the other is a purely eschatological idea, etc. So far as Dr. Robertson states his own conclusions on the New Testament doctrine, however, they will be accepted by most as just and well stated. The distinction between the Kingdom and the Church, the distinction also (in the Pauline writings) between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Christ, the contrast between Paul's doctrine and the Jewish views which prepared for it, the conception of the Kingdom as both the future and the present, the designation of it as *reign* and as *realm*, these and other important elements of the inquiry are handled in a very satisfactory way.

The strength of the book, however, is in the last five lectures. The fourth lecture gives an admirable summary of the history of opinion in the first four Christian centuries. The Millenarian question and the whole realistic theology of the Ante-Nicene period are ably sketched and acutely criticised. The fifth lecture is occupied entirely with Augustine's theology. This is the best part of the book, the one in which the author's power and enthusiasm are most felt. It is a very informing chapter, especially in what it says of the *De Civitate Dei*, the new philosophy of history promulgated by Augustine, his conception of the Church, the influence which his doctrine of grace had upon his doctrine of the Church, the changes in his views and the reasons for them. A great amount of valuable matter is packed into the lecture on the mediæval theocracy, the work of Hildebrand and his successors, and the difference between the ideals of that period and those of the earlier time. The seventh lecture speaks ably and appreciatively of Dante, and takes us on to the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. The book closes with a statement of the "Kingdom of God in modern thought, work and life". We could have wished more space to have been given to this. A comparatively short lecture is all that is given to the story of the development and application of the idea from the Reformation on to the present day. Luther and Calvin are noticed, but all too briefly. The Genevan polity surely demands more than a page or two. Ritschl's views are noticed and subjected to some acute criticism, and a few pages are devoted to Christian Socialism. This is all too little. What is said, however, is said pointedly and well, and one cannot do all he might wish to do for so large a subject in a single volume. Dr. Robertson may enter the field again.

The Gospel according to St. John. An Inquiry into its Genesis and Historical Value. By Dr. HANS HINRICH WENDT, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena. Translated by Edward Lummis, M.A. Edinburgh · T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xi. + 260. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS is a good translation of an important contribution to the study of the problems of the Fourth Gospel which many have desired to have in an English rendering. We have possessed for some time a translation of most of Dr. Wendt's work on the "Teaching of Jesus". But the introductory part of that work in which the question of the sources was discussed was left in the original German. We are glad that occasion has been taken by Dr. Wendt in connexion with the issue of a new edition of the *Lehre Jesu*, to deal again with the Johannine problem, and we are indebted to the publishers who gave us the English version of the two parts of the former volume for this rendering of the new discussion.

Further study has not led Dr. Wendt to make any fundamental change in his position. He adheres to the view that the Fourth Gospel is based in part on a writing of the Apostle John similar in character to the *Logia* of Matthew. He abides also in the main by the arguments which he formerly employed. He does not regard the Fourth Gospel as a unity. He thinks that the use of the words "signs" and "works" and other things point to different strata in the structure, and that two divergent views are given of the foundation of faith in Jesus. He distinguishes between the historical section and the discourses, and where others have conserved the former at the cost of the latter he gives reasons for affirming the credibility of the discourses as a whole and in their main averments. The argument is certainly ingenious, and the whole inquiry suggests much. Dr. Wendt's theory is not one to be accepted lightly. It has not a few difficulties. It takes a limited view of the word "signs". The criteria, too, by which it endeavours to distinguish the original *Logia* from others are by no means certain. But it has much that demands attention.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

WE have also to notice *Religious Writers of England*,¹ by Pearson M'Adam Muir, D.D., a volume of the *Guild Library*, giving sketches of select writers from Caedmon down to Thomas Scott, necessarily brief, but pointed, instructive and done with good taste; the fourth volume of the sixth series of the *Expositor*,² edited with as much success as ever by Dr. William Robertson Nicoll, containing many useful and some notable articles, including a series by Professor Denney on the "Theology of the Epistle to the Romans," a study of "St. Paul's Conception of the Spirit as Pledge" by Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, a criticism of Professor Harnack on the Resurrection, by Professor M'Comb, etc.; a volume by J. H. Jowett, M.A., *Apostolic Optimism and other Sermons*,³ a series of discourses on a variety of subjects, "The true Imperialism," "Rest for Weary Feet," "Startling Absences," "The Baptism of Fire," etc., vivid, direct, arresting, bearing on every page the mark of the practised preacher, and as good to read as to listen to; another volume of pulpit discourses, *Immortality and other Sermons*,⁴ by a preacher of a different kind, the late Rev. Alfred Williams Momerie, which deals in a clear and penetrating way, now argumentative and aggressive, and again chastened and appealing, with the mysteries of life, death, the soul, resurrection, reunion, recognition, retribution, restoration, etc.—a volume containing many just and helpful things, though it looks at these great questions rather from the side of reason and literature than from that of

¹ London: A. & C. Black; Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 213. Price 1s. 6d. net.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 277. Price 6s.

⁴ Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 307. Price 5s.

Scripture, and fails to do justice, as it seems to us, to the teaching of the New Testament on some of the more serious aspects of its subject; *Royal Manhood*,¹ by the Rev. James I. Vance, D.D., a collection of sensible and suggestive papers or addresses on such subjects as "The Majesty of Strength," "The Cause of the Weak," "The Religion of the Body," "The Ethics of a Smile," etc., thoroughly practical, written in a vigorous and telling style with pertinent illustrations from literature and from experience; a new edition of Pouchet's attractive and interesting volume on *The Universe*,² issued in handsome form, with numerous illustrations, carefully revised and edited by the competent hand of Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis of Aberystwith; *Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr 1900, herausgegeben von Dr. G. Krüger, Professor in Giessen*,³ a remarkably complete and useful conspectus, prepared by Drs. von Baentsch, Clemen, Preuschen and others, reprinted in separate form from Krüger's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, with an Appendix from the hand of Professor Nestle, which gives the death-roll for the period; a volume on *The Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus*,⁴ by R. Martin Pope, M.A., forming part of the "Books for Bible Students" series, and giving sensible and helpful notes on the Revised Version of these Epistles, well suited to the needs of students, lay preachers, and Christian laymen; *The People's Bible Encyclopedia*,⁵ a book certainly containing much in comparatively brief space, giving in concise form and popular terms all that most readers of the Bible are concerned to know of its biographical, geographical, historical and doctrinal terms, carefully edited by the Rev. C. Randall Barnes, D.D., and to be cordially commended as suitable for the classes in view; *Inns of Court Sermons*,⁶ a series of selected

¹ London: Andrew Melrose. Cr. 8vo, pp. 251. Price 3s. 6d.

² London: Blackie & Son, 1902. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 576. Price 7s. 6d.

³ Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 343.

⁴ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901. Pp. vii. + 248. Price 2s. 6d.

⁵ London: Charles H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. 1220.

⁶ London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 228. Price 4s. 6d.

discourses by the Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A., Professor of Pastoral Theology at King's College, London, most of which were preached by him (in his capacity of chaplain) in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, a most readable and attractive volume, ranging over a considerable variety of subjects from "Religious Poetry" (a particularly fresh and suggestive discourse) to "Justification by Faith," sometimes overshooting the irenical mark (as when the attempt is made to harmonise the discrepant views of justification as *accounting* righteous and as *making* righteous), but generally characterised by just and stimulating reflection; *The Harvest of the Soul*,¹ by R. L. Bellamy, B.D., Vicar of Silkston, a sober and thoughtful essay on the doctrine of a future life, dealing in a careful and well-considered way with reward and punishment as *realisation* and as *state*, affirming what is termed the *consequential* aspect of punishment as well as the *corrective* and *vindictive*, and pointing to the considerations which make it doubtful "whether after death the separation from sin which is involved in true repentance will be more likely to take place than before death, or whether there is reasonable ground for thinking that it can then take place at all"; the third part of the very useful *Bibliographie der Theologischen Rundschau*,² carefully edited by Lic. Wilhelm Lueken; *die bleibende Bedeutung des Alten Testaments*,³ a pamphlet by Professor Emil Kautzsch of Halle, which gives a brief statement of the more important respects in which the traditional view of the Old Testament has been affected by modern criticism, especially as regards prophecy and, above all, pre-exilian prophecy, and indicates in a clear and judicious way what the change means and how the value of the Old Testament remains.

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 97. Price 3s. 6d.

² 1901. Juli bis September. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 77-119. Price 9d.

³ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 38. Price 9d.

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Lotze's Philosophy, and its Theological Influence.¹

No one can question the real importance of a thinker to whom expositions and commentaries begin to be dedicated. Their appearance and number prove that the age recognises in him one who can state, if not solve, its pressing metaphysical problems in a way that commands intellectual homage. In his own country and in others this honour has been abundantly paid to Hermann Lotze. It may be true, as M. Schoen remarks, that while the study of the philosophy of Herbart, his precursor in Critical Realism, has been facilitated by a multitude of expository volumes, Lotze's system as a whole has not yet been made the subject of any great work. Yet the most enthusiastic disciple has really no cause to complain of the attention bestowed in recent years on Lotze's writings. Hardly any German philosopher has received such peculiarly prompt and careful service from translators. Even of considerable monographs there has been no lack. In 1888 von Hartmann devoted a fair-sized book to a detailed and trenchant examination of Lotze's philosophy, while in 1895 Prof. Jones of Glasgow published his brilliant, if unmitigatedly severe, review of Lotze's logical doctrines, the long-expected metaphysical supplement to which many would eagerly welcome. Apart from special works, the references to Lotze in histories of philosophy almost invariably rank him very high. He is acknowledged to have given a most powerful and salutary impulse to philosophy in various departments, and to have merited special

¹ *La Métaphysique de Hermann Lotze, ou la Philosophie des Actions et des Réactions réciproques.* Par Henri Schoen, Agrégé de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Pp. 291.

gratitude for his courageous resumption of the discredited problems of speculation in an age profoundly averse to metaphysics. All unite to recognise the singular purity of his intellectual conscience, and the width and liberality of his culture. A typical historian of modern philosophy describes his system as "the most fruitful and stimulating contribution to the movement of thought in Germany since Hegel, both from its clear systematic elaboration, and from the æsthetical and ethical principles upon which it is founded".¹

If his countrymen, as M. Schoen considers, are under a disadvantage compared with Germany and England in the study of Lotze, he could hardly have done a service more calculated to repair the defect than the writing of this book. He gave the public a taste of his quality some nine years ago in a work upon the historical origins of Ritschl's theology, a work which was executed with knowledge and accuracy, though marred here and there by a tendency to argue an indebtedness on Ritschl's part to previous thinkers where there existed only independent agreement. And perhaps in the present volume there is a kindred inclination to attribute results, theological and other, to the influence of Lotze, which were really due to the spirit working in contemporary thought. M. Schoen tells us how, in the course of his philosophical reading and reflection, he came early to the conclusion that the task of modern metaphysics must be to develop the germs of realism contained in the doctrine of Kant, and that he was induced to set forth the system of Lotze by the conviction that it is the best representative and embodiment of this realistic movement. He has done so with such enthusiasm, sympathy and insight that his book must be pronounced, upon the whole, the most useful and trustworthy on its subject. It is stronger in exposition, certainly, than in criticism, for Schoen makes no secret of his predilection for Lotze's methods and conclusions in the main. But it is an extremely able presentation of the

¹ Siebert, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Philosophie*, p. 427.

philosophical work of an author who, in some respects, gains enormously by condensation. Schoen succeeds most admirably in detaching and rendering into French conciseness and lucidity the cardinal points of the ontology, cosmology and psychology of his author, praiseworthy attention also being paid to the philosophy of religion. The work has this mark of genuine ability and illuminating knowledge, that the reader will feel strongly impelled to pass from its pages to the study of the master himself. It is fitly dedicated to the venerated memory of Auguste Sabatier.

In one sense Lotze needs a commentary less than any other philosopher, though in the eyes of some this is not the least of his defects. He has been charged with sharing the fragmentariness and superficiality of the common consciousness, and no one need claim for him a too rigorous devotion to the systematic ideal. But at least he is intelligible to the ordinary reader, and, the business of philosophy being to interpret the experience which we actually have, it is not *prima facie* an unpardonable fault in him that he does not overturn any of our natural convictions. Many of the expressions which have led to his being accused of speculative indecision and antipathy to system are rather to be ascribed to his sober and genial sense of the limitations of human faculty, and his judicious scepticism about many of the faultlessly precise definitions in which an age of science takes delight; yet it may be freely granted that the bent of his mind was more analytic than synthetic. His severest critic (Hartmann) asserts that Lotze carries impartiality and caution to the length of never saying "Yea" without at the same time saying "Nay". "It is difficult," Prof. Jones complains, "to say whether he is an Idealist, or Realist, or both; and he has, quite naturally, been taken for a Materialist, for a champion of Orthodox theology, and also for an enlightened Agnostic."¹ It may be pleaded in extenuation that a similar difficulty was once found in placing Hegel, and indeed it appears to be the fate of the greater thinkers that

¹ *The Philosophy of Lotze*, p. 5.

rival schools should each insist on taking them for its heritage. These were the defects of Lotze's qualities as a *Vermittlungsphilosoph*. But aside from this seemingly inconsistent eclecticism, it may be confidently affirmed that a course of study under Lotze's guidance forms an incomparably valuable discipline. He is so genuine and persistent a critic. As Erdmann has said, "the reader of Lotze must make up his mind to find much which appeared to him indisputable truth described as uncertain, and, in the same way, much which he held as indisputably false represented as at least possible". His freedom from ambitious intellectual enthusiasms, his almost excessive antagonism to the inflexible demands of system, his distrust of a false simplicity of principle, his essentially modern sense of the complexity of life and experience, make him a writer from whom the novice especially can learn endless wisdom, while his contributions to special departments of philosophy will always compel the respect even of the unfriendly expert. There must be many who would confess that he first taught them to think, though they might complain later that he had not encouraged them to speculate. Nothing is more typical of his mind and temper than the saying that the business of a philosopher is not to ask "how being and reality are made," but to discover its activities, not to create the world, but to understand it.

Many of the elements in the system of Lotze only become intelligible when we take into account his attitude towards other German thinkers. There is in him a curious pre-Critical strain, which comes out, for example, in his assertion that the fact of being perceived is at bottom only one more relation into which things enter in addition to others; and it was this, presumably, which led Erdmann to suggest that Lotze has gone back to Leibnitz, and revived his monadology in its essentials, ignoring all that has happened in the interval. He himself, however, affirms that the purpose of his philosophy is to effect a synthesis between the thesis of the Hegelian idealism and the antithesis of the Herbartian realism, while it is probably correct to say that Weisse never

ceased to exercise a regulative influence upon his thought, especially on questions of theology. His fundamental standpoint, as is well known, is that of a teleological and ethical idealism for which the idea of the Supreme Good—which is conceived very definitely as Personal, and identified with the one all-comprehensive substance to which his investigation of causality leads him—is the sufficient reason for all that exists and happens. His metaphysic, therefore, strikes its deepest roots in ethics. Nothing could have been more timely than his work. He came to a generation which was hungry for facts, devoted to experience, half-intoxicated by the materialism which claimed to speak in the name of science, averse equally to the abstract idealism which would reduce all things into the transient pulsations of a single principle of thought, and to the inadequate mathematical methods of the Herbartian realism. These instincts he was peculiarly fitted to understand and satisfy by his profound knowledge of science, and his ineradicable conviction that even in metaphysics we must allow for art, poetry, and religion. He set himself accordingly both to stem the tide of Hegelianism and “to stay the Bacchic dance of the Materialists”. It is just this mediating and moderating spirit which, while (as with Bishop Butler) it may lessen the romance and confine the sweep of his thought, makes Lotze the practised and catholic-minded master of philosophical discussion that he is.

The influence of Lotze upon theology has been frankly declared to be pernicious and obscurantist. In Prof. Jones' language, theologians, ever ready to trust the heart against the head, find in Lotze “if not the last refuge, the latest hope”.¹ His advent has been hailed with profound relief and satisfaction by those “who had all along striven against the reduction of God, the soul of man, and the world into logical processes of thought”. And even those who would rank Lotze's services to philosophy very much higher than does Prof. Jones, are sometimes wont to represent him depreciatingly as a setter forth of doctrines palatable to the

¹ *The Philosophy of Lotze*, p. 4.

defenders of supernatural dogma. He is represented as having withdrawn the data of religion from the jurisdiction of reason as a merely formal function in our experience, and placed them in the sphere of a feeling which is simply incommensurable with thought. Are these things so? Does Lotze also remove knowledge to make room for belief? In answering this question we shall have to glance briefly at some characteristics of his theory of knowledge. We shall find that there is considerable ground for the charge that he teaches the subjectivity of cognition, and interposes an impassable gulf between thought and things; yet to counterbalance this there are compensations in his metaphysical doctrine for which his critics do not always sufficiently allow.

Interrogate Lotze simply as an epistemologist, and he is clearly an out-and-out Kantian in his conclusion that the objects of our knowledge are appearances and no more. Knowledge is but one species of reciprocal interaction, and the resultant of this cognitive collision between the mind and things is necessarily not an exact photograph of the outer world of reality, but coloured through and through by the nature of our knowing faculty. We know things, not as they are in themselves, but as they appear; absolute truth, such as may be given to angels and archangels, is for us an unattainable goal. Space, time, and motion do not really exist outside our minds; they are a translation into subjective terms of quite disparate objective relations, and the same may be said of cognition as a whole. Our ideas are properly the product of our own minds, stimulated indeed by external impressions, but resembling neither these impressions nor the things themselves from which they emanate. So far as his pure theory of cognition goes, then, Lotze is as convinced an advocate of the relativity of knowledge as Mr. Herbert Spencer. He speaks again and again as though in knowing the mind necessarily stood in its own light, and could not but do so from the very fact that it is a mind. "This relation of things to us we cannot eliminate," he says in one passage with what seems a tone of regret. Now by such habits of expression, by the repeated and emphatic use of

such phrases as "things themselves inaccessible to observation which we suppose to underlie our sensuous preception," "an invisible something which we suppose to be outside us," reality and intelligence are essentially divorced, and we are thrown back on that indeterminate and abstract idea of matter which plays so large a part in post-Cartesian philosophy. There can be no question, in view of many similar passages in his *Logic*, that Lotze is guilty of what Prof. Pringle-Pattison has called "the unpardonable philosophic sin—the assertion of the thing-in-itself as an unknown and unknowable kernel of reality".¹

How then does Lotze succeed in finally ascribing any truth to our knowledge at all? In one passage of the *Microcosmus* we find him arguing that though we cannot know the essence of things adequately, yet at least we can know them as causes of the impressions they make upon us. Each subjective phenomenon becomes an invitation to posit the existence of a real thing. Hypothesis is called in to enable us to divine what the essence of things *must be*. This results in the metaphysical conclusion that things, in order to be centres of action and explain the experience we have of them, must possess the capacity of suffering and self-enjoyment, in short must share with the human spirit in varying degrees the quality of self-hood. This hypothesis itself would be baseless, however, but for the act of faith which is inseparable from the very idea of knowledge, the supreme trust that we can attain to truth, and that reason may justly have confidence in her own powers. The objectivity of thought is saved in the last resort by the faith that the Good is also the most Real in the world, and that therefore knowledge cannot be a meaningless play of appearances. We are justified, accordingly, in obeying the principle *Wieviel Schein, soviel Hindeutung auf Sein*. Or as Lotze himself puts it, "all our conclusions concerning the real world rest upon the immediate confidence or the faith which we repose in the universal validity of a certain postulate of thought which oversteps the limits of the

¹ *Mind*, October 1895, p. 524.

special world of thought". This may be a roundabout way of rehabilitating a faculty which seemed to be discredited for ever, but at least that he should have taken it marks off Lotze's ultimate views of knowledge decisively from those of Mr. Herbert Spencer. The English thinker argues that while we are obliged to believe in the existence of an objective reality, manifesting itself to us under certain conditions, we yet are eternally condemned to ignorance of its real essence; Lotze reaffirms the ontological affinity of knowledge and being by a bold hypothesis springing from an act of faith. The difference, slight to begin with, carries the two philosophers far enough apart ere the end, until it is hardly too much to say that no metaphysician "of this generation is so far removed from the ultimate position of Spencerian agnosticism as is Lotze". He stands finally "committed to the possibility of knowledge that reaches not only to the bare fact of the Being of the Absolute, but also to the heart and essence of its qualifications. We know not only *that* God is, but we also know *what* He essentially and eternally is."¹

Lotze's theory of knowledge has received a somewhat adventitious importance from a well-known passage in Ritschl's great work, in which, after a rapid summary and criticism of the epistemological views of Plato and Kant, he professes his adherence to the positions arrived at by Lotze. "He holds"—so runs Ritschl's inaccurate epitome—"that in the phenomena which in a definite space exhibit changes to a limited extent and in a determinate order we cognize the thing as the cause of its qualities operating upon us, as the end which these serve as means, as the law of their constant changes."² The study of Ritschl's philosophical principles, as contrasted with his theology proper, is too unrewarding an occupation to detain us here; but it may be pointed out that he was mistaken in taking Lotze as opposed to the Kantian doctrine of the purely phenomenal character of knowledge; while on any rigorous interpretation of his

¹ Ladd, *New World*, September 1895, p. 409.

² *Justification and Reconciliation*, vol. iii., Eng. Trans., p. 19.

own *language* Ritschl himself must be understood as also teaching an essentially subjectivistic theory. And yet, so far as we can gather his general mind, it seems to have been his *intention* to ascribe to the theoretical reason a genuine and independent capacity of knowing the things to the action of which subjective phenomena are due. This view is confirmed by the interesting fact that an attached disciple felt it necessary to remonstrate with Ritschl upon the sinister realistic implications of this unreserved acceptance of Lotze's theory of knowledge; for, he argued, if you accept the epistemology you must likewise accept the metaphysic, which is organically bound up with it.¹

We may sum the matter up, then, by saying that so far as the mere theory of cognition is concerned, the influence of Lotze upon theological thought is at most ambiguous. A type of theological positivism which attempts to fence off the sphere of religion from reason altogether can claim his authority only when it neglects the realistic metaphysical inferences which form an integral part of his conclusions on the whole subject. On the other hand the pretensions of an abstract speculative theology find in him a consistent foe, who never ceases to affirm that human thought can in no wise constitute reality, but at best represents it imperfectly. The main source of his influence, indeed, is to be found not so much in any negative doctrine, as in his positive insistence on the part played by feeling, or rather perhaps, by feeling-coloured thought, both in the structure of experience and our estimate of its meaning.

In using such language, we must of course beware of giving any countenance to the idea that Lotze founded a school of theology. We cannot affirm that if he had never lived and written the course of theological progress would have been essentially different. Indeed, that part of his system which was to have dealt with ethics and the philosophy of religion was left unfinished at his death. He made no specific contributions to theology. What is meant is rather that in a

¹ Ecke, *Die theologische Schule Albrecht Ritschl's*, p. 50.

remarkable degree he had a profound sympathy with, and intellectual comprehension of, the religious needs of his time, and was in not a few instances the first to give powerful and suggestive expression to ideas which were germinating in the minds of the foremost contemporary theologians. He has not unjustly been styled the most Christian thinker among the philosophers. Take his formulation of the characteristic convictions of every religious mind—" (a) Moral laws embody the will of God, (b) Individual spirits are not products of nature, but are children of God, (c) Reality is more and other than the mere cause of nature, it is a kingdom of God"—and the truth of his insight into the genius of Christianity becomes unmistakable. Theologians instinctively perceive that Lotze, better than most, appreciates at their true value the interests which theology has to guard and advance.

Three reasons may be tentatively offered for the confidence and deference which have been shown to Lotze in recent years by theologians of a reflective type. The first is *his unquestioned eminence as a master of scientific method*. The apologetic work called for in modern times is directed, not primarily against speculative systems which profess to solve the world-problem without remainder, but against the forces of agnosticism and pessimism which proclaim that no rational solution, even in part, is a possible object of hope for the mind imbued with the genuine principles of science. Unfortunately the defenders of the faith are too often ignorant of the methods and results of that science which they aspire to dissociate from unbelief. All his life Lotze fought the Naturalism or Materialism which in the middle of the century was so confidently promulgated as the inevitable corollary of science; but he did so with the established reputation behind him of a brilliant and devoted investigator in physics and especially physiology. His scientific training gave him not only a consummate knowledge of the methods and principles of research, but his conception of the majesty of natural law.

The unreserved character of his adherence to the scientific point of view is clear from the fact that, even after he had

published, in the first sketch of his *Metaphysik*, the general philosophical conclusions to which he remained faithful throughout life, he vehemently defended physiological principles which led many to class him with the materialistic school of the day. This was in his *Allgemeine Physiologie* (1851). Here he adversely criticised the theory of vitalism—later discredited, but perhaps destined to enjoy another season of favour—and contended that the phenomena of life must be treated in thoroughgoing fashion as purely mechanical. This note of insistence upon the universal applicability of the principle of mechanism is heard again and again throughout his later works, and when combined with his equally unqualified assertion of the freedom of the will, leaves him, it may be, with an unsolved antinomy on his hands. But in itself he held the principle of universal mechanism to be innocuous. “The more,” he says, “I myself have laboured to prepare the way for acceptance of the mechanical view of nature in the region of organic life, the more do I now feel impelled to bring into prominence the other aspect which was equally near to my heart during all these endeavours”. He argues that if all nature is mechanical, all nature is likewise spiritual, and in famous words declares it his aim “to show *how absolutely universal is the extent, and at the same time how completely subordinate is the mission which mechanism has to fulfil in the course of the world*”.¹

The apologetic arguments of one who ranks as an outsider in science are apt to leave the chief difficulties arising from science untouched. His conclusions may be orthodox, but if his knowledge is mainly a matter of hearsay, they excite the suspicions of the thoughtful. It is something to be able to consult a man who, in his demonstration of the limits of scientific methods and categories, is speaking with the acknowledged authority of an expert.

Further, theologians have felt that Lotze knows *and appreciates the spiritual needs and instincts of the individual*. Pretentious systems which suppress or neglect those needs found in him

¹ *Microcosmus*, Introduction, pp. xv., xvi.

an irreconcilable foe. He protests against the sacrifice of "man's inalienable and highest aspirations" upon the altar of materialistic dogma. He revived the sense of wonder and mystery in speculative literature. He recalled the attention of our age to the presence of factors in human experience which cannot be defined, and yet must be allowed for in our interpretation of the whole. As it has been well put: "He regards all fundamental problems from a predominatingly æsthetical and ethical point of view, rather than from the purely or prevailingly ratiocinative". If Hegel construed all things in terms of thought, Lotze construed all things in terms of experience as a rich and varied whole.

This may be otherwise expressed by saying that, in Lotze's hands, the ontological argument changes into a great fundamental judgment of worth. "It is only the Good which has in itself the complete right to be, and this is recognised in a judgment or postulate of value, which carries us beyond the merely intellectual region into the domain of feeling." The conception of *worth*, indeed, is ubiquitous in Lotze's philosophy. As M. Schoen remarks, there are no terms, after the central term of *Wechselwirkung* (reciprocal action), which recur so frequently on his pages as *Werth* and *Werthurteil*. Here ethics and religion take their rise. Even for the work of knowledge proper this conception is fundamental; we are led to regard the universe as a consistent whole, not by the demands of an uninterested understanding, but "by the inspirations of a reason appreciative of worth".¹ This is both true and capable of development into a coherent and impressive theory, but the aspect of things changes when we find that the feeling to which the judgment of value is elsewhere ascribed is unambiguously declared by Lotze to be mere pleasure or pain;² and it is here, we may venture to affirm, that the Achilles heel of the theory in his formulation of it may be detected. It is one thing to say that judgments of

¹ *Microcosmus*, i., p. 244.

² *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 123.

value originate in a reason which is coloured by feeling; it is quite another to maintain that they spring from the feeling of pleasure and pain, and press reason into their service merely as a formal instrument.

In Lotze's own writings we have hardly more than the beginnings of a religious or dogmatic application of these conclusions. He makes tentative use of them indeed in stating his views on conditional immortality, and there is a still more suggestive reference to the revision they entail in the doctrine of the Person of Christ.¹ Not that Lotze was the first to emphasise the importance of the idea of worth in the religious domain. It has been traced back to Luther, and it is expressed with growing clearness in the works of Kant, Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Rothe; but perhaps Lotze may be said to have made it current coin. *Das Werthvolle allein das wahrhaft Seiende* is a principle to which he sometimes fairly commits himself. No one can miss the influence of his formulations upon the thought and language of Ritschl. Take a statement like Lotze's: "What we mean by value in the world lies wholly in the feeling of satisfaction or of pleasure which we derive from it," and lay it alongside the classical passages on the subject in Ritschl's *Justification and Reconciliation*, vol. iii., chap. iv., and the close relationship is undeniable. And when we find Scheibe justly and sympathetically summing up the gist of Ritschl's theory in these words: "Religious knowledge is given by value-judgments upon that which God is for us, *i.e.*, by the feelings of pleasure which we connect with the thought of God,"² nothing more is needed to prove how easily theology on such terms may become infected throughout with the individual subjectivity of Hedonism.

It is well known that of recent years an extraordinary amount of profitable and fructifying discussion has circled round this theme. Real progress has been made in detaching the important truth that the apprehension of spiritual

¹ *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 172.

² *Die Bedeutung der Werthurteile*, p. 11.

realities is spiritually and morally conditioned, from its compromising association with theories which regard reason as an outsider in matters of faith. There was once a tendency in certain quarters to ask how far this or that doctrine satisfies our religious sentiment, rather than what constitutes its objective truth. Lotze was careful to insist that such value-judgments must never come into collision with the ascertained facts of science; but with certain inconsiderate members of the modern school the value of an object of faith has been held to be a decisive reason, *pro* or *contra*, in judging of its existence. We have no space here to speak of the various contributions made to the elucidation of the subject by Herrmann, Kaftan, Otto Ritschl, or Garvie. But it may be observed that a remarkably luminous and valuable addition to the relevant literature has recently been made by Reischle in his book *Werturteile und Glaubensurteile*. By drawing so clear a distinction as he does between the *feeling* of worth as an inner psychical experience, and the *judgment* of worth as actually affirmed, he has removed a fatal barrier to genuine progress; and it may be confidently expected that others will follow, with good hopes of making positive headway, in the new path which he has struck out.

The third source of Lotze's influence upon theology has been *the thoroughly positive character of his thought*. On this topic a few sentences must suffice. We have seen above, indeed, that in some ways Lotze might be fairly designated an agnostic, were it not that in default of demonstration he falls back on belief. So that while he turns his wholesome distrust of human omniscience successively against science, idealism, and a too self-reliant theology, about the positive character of his final conclusions there can be no doubt whatever. His Theism is uncompromising. It is likewise somewhat original in its statement, and the student observes with interest that Ritschl's philosophical defence of the Personality of God is drawn straight from Lotze, who formulates its main tenet succinctly thus: "Perfect personality is in God only, to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof; the finiteness of the finite is not a producing con-

dition of this personality but a limit and a hindrance of its development".¹

To take another example, the positive character of Lotze's conclusions, especially where they border on religion, is very clear from the importance he ascribes to the Kingdom of God. We owe M. Schoen special acknowledgments for the admirable section of his work in which he exhibits the union effected in Lotze's idea of the Kingdom of God between two previous conceptions—Kant's moral association of mankind, and Schleiermacher's notion of the Supreme Good in which the duties of the earthly life are combined with the hopes of another world. This complex idea is subordinated by Lotze, in his religious philosophy, to the Spiritual Monism to which he was ultimately led by his examination of causality and which dominates his entire system. In this light, the different phases of human progress, moving onwards to a supreme common and spiritual end, are seen to be only different phases of the development of the Absolute Personality which embraces them all. It can hardly have been accidental that during the years following the publication of the *Microcosmus* a series of important studies on the subject of the Kingdom of God began to be published in Germany by such men as Holtzmann and Lipsius. Since then the same idea has been placed by Ritschl and his school at the very centre of the dogmatic system.

These are but illustrations of the convinced and positive spirit which breathes through Lotze's religious philosophy, and which naturally has attracted the confidence of thoughtful students of theology. Other illustrations of the same temper might be found both in his unwavering assertion of moral freedom—despite universal mechanism on the one hand, and Spiritual Monism on the other—and in his express vindication of personal and conscious immortality. But enough has been said to prove how completely this philosopher was in sympathy with the instincts of piety. He gave powerful and reasoned

¹ This argument has recently been subjected to an extremely acute and suggestive criticism by Mr. McTaggart in his *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*.

expression to convictions which ought to find a place in our theories corresponding to that which they have in life. And if he sometimes seems to betray a disabling and sceptical sense of the incompetency of reason to apprehend the divine reality which lies behind the veil of phenomena, it was but the irresistible reaction from the dialectical excesses of Hegelianism. To-day it is realised that Idealism erred when it put its whole trust in thought, to the exclusion of faith and feeling and will ; without Lotze this error might have had to wait still longer for its detection and exposure.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

**Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A.T. herausgegeben von
D. Karl Marti.**

*Josua erklärt von Lic. Dr. H. Holzinger. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 103.
Price M.2.50.*

**Das Buch Hiob neu übersetzt und kurz erklärt von
Friedrich Delitzsch.**

*Ausgabe mit sprachlicher Kommentar. Leipzig, 1902. Price
M.6.*

Palästinischer Diwan.

Von Gustaf H. Dalman. Leipzig, 1901. Price M.9.

DR. HOLZINGER'S *Josua* consists of an introduction and a commentary, both brief. The introduction, after discussing the usual questions, concludes with a full and useful table shewing the distribution of the text among the different sources. Each large section of the commentary is divided into three parts, the first containing the Textual Criticism, the second the Higher Criticism, and the third the Exegesis. This arrangement has a good deal to recommend it, and in a short commentary it does not often cause serious inconvenience, for it is easy to look from one note to the other. The textual notes make full use of the Peshitta as well as of the different recensions of the LXX. The notes on the analysis of the documents go fully into the difficulties, and form the most important part of the book. The exegetical notes owing to the exigences of space are very brief.

The commentary is of course open to some adverse criticisms. It is a pity, *e.g.*, that Holzinger has accepted without hesitation Hollenberg's explanation of chap. v. 9 as referring to the circumcision of the people described in vv. 2-8. The expression "I have rolled away" suggests

that some action of *rolling* is referred to. What else could this be but the rolling of the memorial stones into their place at Gilgal (iv. 20)? And what "reproach of Egypt" is known to us from the Hexateuch, but the reproach that the Lord was not able to bring His people into the promised land (Exod. xxxii. 12; Deut. ix. 28)? The rolling of the stones into their place in Gilgal was the sign that the Lord had fulfilled His promise. But the commentary as a whole is very good, the treatment of geographical points, *e.g.*, being very careful (see the notes on x. 3-12, xi. 1-5).

Friedrich Delitzsch has written on Job in a welcome spirit of independence. The book was composed in Constantinople, away from the author's library, and has probably gained more than it has lost from the circumstances under which it arose. The text is re-arranged in three parts. First we have the prose beginning and end put together as the *Volkserzählung* of Job. Next comes the bulk of the book under the title, *Das Gedicht Iob oder das Hohelied des Pessimismus*. Lastly in appendices are given the speeches of Elihu, the "Origin of Wisdom" (chap. xxviii.), and the descriptions of the ostrich, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile (chaps. xxxix.-xli.). Quite brief notes are added to the text at the foot of the page, while at the end of the little book a "sprachlicher Kommentar" of fifty pages is given in which considerable use is made of the editor's knowledge of Assyrian. Dr. Delitzsch believes that the text of the book of Job is not nearly so corrupt as some recent critics have supposed, and we find no violent rewriting of such passages as chap. xix. 25-27. Sometimes, however, violence is done in translating, *e.g.*, in chap. xl. 20, "Ja, die Geschöpfe der Berge *mögen* ihn *feiern mit Reigentanz*". For this translation of יִשְׁתַּחֲוּ Dr. Delitzsch appeals to chap. xxi. 12, but in vain.

Dr. Dalman's book is doubly welcome, since it serves a double purpose. It is in the first place a valuable chrestomathy of the Arabic used in modern Palestine, and in the

second place it supplies us with fresh texts, from which we may gather illustrations of the language and thought of some parts of the Old Testament. Dalman's original intention was to collect songs which offer parallels for passages in Canticles, but the collection grew in his hands and soon passed these limits. Certainly nothing could answer better to the compiler's first design than the song of thirty-eight lines called "Preis der Schönheit," which was communicated by a peasant to Rev. W. Christie of Aleppo and by him imparted to Dalman. The face of the fair one is here likened to the new moon (*cf.* Cant. vi. 10), her dark hair is praised (*ib.* vi. 5), and after mention of almost every part of the body the singer concludes (*cf.* iv. 7) with :

hādi ausāf ezzēn mābu zilāli (page 111).

(This is the description of beauty ! There is no blemish in it !)

The same song contains parallels to Cant. vii. 2a [Heb. 3a] (שֶׁרֶד), 3 [Heb. 4] (שֶׁדִּיד).

Another song (page 106) supplies a parallel for Prov. v. 19 (רִדְהָ יִרְדָּה), a woman says to her lover

win tschunt 'atschān maijit nhūdi dūālib.

(Und wenn du durstig bist, künde ich an das Wasser meiner Brüste, die wie Schöpfräder sind.)

On page 159 is an interesting little "Song of Ascents" to Mecca !

Up ! journey on ! O Emir of Damascus !
Here is no abiding-place !
There is no place but in Mecca !
Upon Mecca be peace !
O peace, greet with peace
Him who is shaded with the clouds (*i.e.*, Mohammed) !

Every student of the Old Testament who contemplates visiting Palestine should devote some time to the study of Dr. Dalman's most suggestive book.

W. EMERY BARNES.

**Dogmatik von D. Julius Kaftan, Professor der Theologie
in Berlin. Dritte und vierte verbesserte Auflage.**

*Tübingen und Leipzig: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr. London:
Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 656. Price
9s. net.*

THIS is the second, or rather *these* are the third and fourth improved *Auflagen* of Professor Kaftan's work. The first (and second) appeared in 1897. It is, by the way, a somewhat puzzling custom which some German publishers have adopted of describing a work, at its very first appearance, as in its first and second Auflage or edition; and at its second appearance as in the third and fourth Auflage. Unless there is an understanding that an Auflage means a certain fixed number, and the description referred to simply means that twice the number have been printed, the custom is surely open to abuse.

Professor Kaftan is often regarded and referred to as a Ritschlian. In some respects doubtless he is; but though his development, as he himself frankly acknowledges, was greatly influenced by Ritschl—and what German theologian of the present day has not come more or less under the spell of that strong, masterful mind?—still he is in his way no less an independent thinker than any one of his predecessors.

Superficially examined the table of contents leaves the impression that the work keeps pretty closely to traditional lines. The old familiar *loci* are all there; the Prolegomena also, dealing with the usual topics. As compared with the systems of Dorner or Frank or Beck or even Kähler it wears quite an old-fashioned look. But careful scrutiny, even of the table of contents, much more of the contents themselves, will bring to light considerable, not to say radical differences, both of presuppositions, method and results.

An unsophisticated student of Systematic Theology will

- often feel as if he had for once come across a thoroughly sound German divine, and be ready to rub his hands with delight, till he compares notes and tries to think himself first into, and then out of, it: afterwards he may possibly not be quite so sure.

Professor Kaftan's work is not ill reading, but it is not easy understanding. The successive steps seem clear enough and to follow on each other, for the most part, without break; and yet, somehow, one is left in a kind of fog. Perhaps it is because the reader has not succeeded in divesting himself for the time being of his old prepossessions; or is it because the author goes beyond the usual limit in the *Umdeutung* of traditional terms?

It has been very customary with Systematic Theologians to make a great show of deducing one *locus* from another by means of a sort of speculative logic, beginning, of course, with the doctrine of God and ending with Eschatology. That a strict concatenation is possible and ought to be attempted seems to have been hitherto silently taken for granted—not merely by Hegelians like Marheinecke and Biedermann, or Schleiermacherians like Schweizer, but also by Lutherans like Philippi and Kahnis, of whom the last-named defines the aim of dogmatics to be to “present the doctrines or dogmas of the Lutheran Church in systematic form, *i.e.*, to develop and demonstrate them out of principles”; and by mediating theologians like Dorner and Frank, of whom the last-named says, “the task of Systematic Theology is to know and exhibit Christian Truth in its essence and connection”. From this assumption Kaftan dissents. Not that he objects to a unity; on the contrary, he maintains that the unity recognised by him is of so strict a nature that no factor of it, nor any group of factors, can be properly understood save in the light of the remaining factors or groups. It is a question, however, not of the construction of a systematic scheme, but solely of the best mode of arranging the several *loci*. Kaftan would not indeed go so far as Strauss, who in his worst satirical vein, compares some of these systems to “sausages of which orthodox doctrine supplies the flesh, Schleiermacher's theo-

logy the bacon-fat and Hegel's philosophy the seasoning"; but he does characterise the unity accomplished as a "Phantasterei".

Whilst Professor Kaftan's presuppositions and mode of treating the point just touched on provoke my dissent, the kernel of his contention seems to me true. Indeed, I have been long of the opinion that Systematic Theology is rather a conglomerate of fragments of several sciences (or as is the vogue to put it, *philosophy of them*) whose principle of association is their more or less close relation to God, than a philosophically or scientifically articulated system.

What is needed, however, is just the full logical carrying out of a traditional assumption which Professor Kaftan pronounces untenable, namely, that "the Christian knowledge of God and the scientific knowledge of the world can be objectively reduced to a self-consistent whole". A true philosophy, that is, to quote the words of T. H. Green, "a fully articulated conception of the world as rational," would be just such a whole. In such a whole every true element of Systematic Theology would not only find a place but be seen to fill a gap which would effectually prevent the rational articulation of the world and its history.

Professor Kaftan's definition of dogmatics introduces us at once to what is perhaps the most distinctive feature of his work: "It is a science of the Christian God-faith (Gottesglauben), not a science of God". Elsewhere referring to the same point, he says: "The prevailing view, however, is different. According to it dogmatics is the science *not* of faith and *its* knowledge, but of the objects of faith. Faith is, indeed, pretty generally presupposed. But dogmatics is supposed to help us to a scientific knowledge of the realities of which, so far as they affect us subjectively, we are assured by faith; otherwise expressed it is expected to help to a knowledge that is objective, that is directed to their objective connection with each other." "This view," he adds, "must be rejected because it fails to do justice to the peculiar nature and conditions of faith-knowledge. It is the business of dogmatics, indeed, to set forth such knowledge with greater

precision and exactness than faith gives to it ; but it is faith-knowledge, in its connection with the life of the believer, that forms its subject. For otherwise, the reality on which in the last instance all the realities rest with which we have here to do, namely, God is not *given* (gegeben), is not ours at all. To want 'objective' knowledge of Him and of the connection of everything actual with Him is to treat *Wissen*, *i.e.*, scientific knowledge instead of faith, as the proper and adequate mental (geistig) means of coming to God—which is incompatible with the evangelical or Protestant conception of Christianity."

The current assumption certainly is (1) that theology is concerned supremely with God Himself, and (2) that as sense is the organ by which the physical cosmos is apprehended, so faith is the organ by which God is apprehended. But Kaftan is not content with this. This he holds to be a slighting of "faith"; this is to fail in appreciation of its true evangelical significance, which lies in a direction of which Luther caught glimpses, but of which the vast majority of theologians since his day have betrayed woeful ignorance.

It was Schleiermacher, he thinks, who first recognised the fact that dogma is faith-knowledge, and that the aim of dogmatics is not a scientific knowledge of the objects of faith that transcends faith. His design was to make the system of faith (Glaubenslehre) independent of philosophy and to secure for it a distinctive position among theological *disciplinæ* as the science of the Church. He failed, however, to see that Glaubenssätze or faith-propositions contain and express *real knowledge*, not merely pious states; and that, correspondingly, dogmatics conveys real knowledge.

Ritschl's merit, on the other hand, Kaftan thinks, was that of recognising the place and function of faith as piety without overlooking its place and function as real knowledge. At the same time he allows that Ritschl laid too great stress on what he called value-judgments. That a large proportion of simple judgments are value-judgments, *i.e.*, judgments in which things are estimated according to their direct value for ourselves, or their relation to recognised ideals, in which, that is, the value to us is treated or affirmed as a quality of

the things, is certain; but to say as Ritschl did that the religious view of the world is formed by value-judgments was a mistake; for it is formed rather by judgments of being (*Seinesurtheile*); it is knowledge in the strict sense, flowing from the knowledge *that* God is and *what* God is.

The question now naturally arises, what is this faith, this faith-knowledge, this God-faith, of which dogmatics is the science?

It is by no means easy to unify all Professor Kaftan's descriptions of, and allusions to, these points. Indeed, were I not restrained by the presumption that a theologian of such repute must know what he is about, I should be disposed to affirm that they cannot be unified. I will, however, do my best to represent him fairly.

Faith and revelation, he says, are so closely connected that to understand one the other also must be understood. But as faith lies nearer to us, and is immediately given, it is necessary to begin with it. Now faith is present wherever a man experiences what is involved in the two facts of reconciliation and the kingdom of God. These experiences bring knowledge of God, of His nature and will. In faith, therefore, these experiences, which denote a revolution of the inner life, and this knowledge are combined, though the experience is the primary element. Revelation corresponds. It neither presupposes nor consists in a communication of doctrine; else doctrine would be the object of faith. Whereas God, God too as He acted for man's redemption, that is, for man's reconciliation and the establishment of His kingdom in the leading of Israel, in the mission of Jesus and in the outpouring of the Spirit, is the constitutive element of revelation. In and with it truth is communicated—not otherwise. Where faith is awakened, *i.e.*, where men let themselves be reconciled and called to the kingdom of God, knowledge also is bestowed.

This knowledge, however, does not rest on the objective apprehension of the actual, that is, of God, and the working up of the impressions thence derived, but on an inner personal living experience of a peculiar kind, in an inner practical rela-

tion to God. Hence it is termed faith, not *Wissen* or reasoned knowledge.

Yet it not only includes knowledge, but is knowledge in the strict sense of the term. It is knowledge in the sense of appropriating or forming judgments with the accompanying assumption that they are true, *i.e.*, that they correspond to an actuality which is given (*gegeben*) outside the knower. A believer takes for granted that his faith is full and proper knowledge. Religion itself would perish were this uncertain.

“The object of the knowledge which faith gains is not the inner (experience and) life of the believer, but God—God the most objective of all realities. The paradox of faith is that whilst it rests on the most inward and therefore most subjective experiences of the personal life, it asserts, yea, justly asserts, its object to be the most objective of all objects and therefore to be objective, world-embracing truth.” The knowledge enclosed in faith is knowledge of God, and as such the highest and most comprehensive knowledge possible to man. Few will quarrel with Kaftan's application of the word paradox to faith, if this be faith.

The fuller appreciation of this paradox may be aided by a brief exhibition of his theory of knowledge and certitude in general, to which, as the key to his system, he himself calls special attention.

There are two great species of knowledge, the one the knowledge of nature set forth in the *Naturwissenschaften*; the other the knowledge of mind (*Geist*) set forth in the *Seineswissenschaften*. *Knowledge of Nature* becomes ours through the senses and by experience which things force on us. As it can be tested by experiment, and is subject to mathematics, it claims rigid objectivity. *Knowledge of mind*, whether in other men or in history, becomes ours only in a limited degree through the senses, so far, namely, as it embodies itself—for example, in language. A subjective factor always enters into it, quite foreign to natural science. This subjective factor grows, moreover, with the growth of the importance and inwardness of the life-sphere which is the object of knowledge.

Its influence culminates in the domain of ethics and religion.

But the greater the scientific objectivity, the greater the relativity and the less the confidence of the knowledge; for as Goethe puts it, "ins Innere der Natur dringt kein geschaffener Geist". Whereas the greater the subjectivity, the less the relativity and the fuller the confidence of our knowledge. For in such knowledge, that is, in the knowledge of man and his history, we know ourselves.

"Science cannot pursue its course through the kingdom of the actual to the end without arriving at the point where it touches on, nay, enters the domain of personal conviction. And this is the link of connection between it and personal faith with its knowledge of God, that knowledge in which all knowledge is consummated."

Considered in itself the knowledge of God must, of course, be the final and highest knowledge possible to man. Such is the knowledge of God attained by and in faith.

In a word, faith being rooted in an inner practical experience of an altogether peculiar kind, is characterised by *subjectivity* in the highest degree; and yet it is, or contains, knowledge of the most *objective* of all possible objects—namely, God; and is the most certain of all forms of knowledge, nay, more, is marked by such absolute conviction that everything relative disappears.

If this be the case, and Kaftan reiterates it in a bewildering variety of ways, the tables are turned with a vengeance on agnosticism and scepticism. For, as he says, "knowledge is always knowledge," though every kind of knowledge is attained under different conditions.

Often as Professor Kaftan recurs to the subject thus very briefly touched on, he does not seem to me to make at all clear what it is to *know God* in faith, to have faith-knowledge, as distinguished from knowing God through the inner experiences which He works in us in response to faith, that is, when we fulfil the practical conditions which are summarily denoted by the word faith. Nay, more, there seems to me to be an element of exaggeration, of mystical paradox, in many of his statements which may possibly supply disciples with *Schlagwörter*, but will scarcely minister to true edification.

Many, very many other points, both in the Prolegomena and in the body of the work, well deserve notice, partly in the way of dissent, partly in that of agreement; but I must now restrict myself to one.

This is the unclearness of the position assigned to Scripture. Whilst he says that dogmatics is as bound to and determined by Scripture as any kind of real knowledge is bound to and determined by the object to which it relates, yet no proposition is allowed to be drawn directly from Scripture because faith intervenes between it and Scripture; whilst Scripture is represented as "the only and proper *principium cognoscendi* of Christian dogmatics, because it is the only authentic documentary record of the historical revelation of God," yet criticism must be allowed a free hand in dealing with almost everything that Scripture contains. If the Scripture representations of the Divine dealings with man are as affected by fancy, mistake, colouring for party purposes, forgetfulness, exaggeration and so on as criticism maintains, how can they act as a revelation of God, unless it be in some magical, mystical way that is independent alike of intelligence and conscience, truth and right?

The second is recognition of the service done by the school of Ritschl in general and by Kaftan in particular in opposing the *doctrinalism* which has been such a hindrance to Christianity and asserting the claims of experience and life as a true and trustworthy source of the knowledge of God.

His work, let me add, is unquestionably stimulating and suggestive, though difficult not so much to read as to grip. Its warmth of tone, ethical elevation and fulness of assurance with regard to God as revealed particularly in Christ, will doubtless make it helpful to many who either cannot grasp its teaching as a whole, or whom that teaching, if understood, will scarcely satisfy.

D. W. SIMON.

The Philosophy of the Christian Religion.

By A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 583. Price 12s.

THIS is a great book on a great subject by one who is an acknowledged master in theological science, and who has already earned the gratitude of all interested in the progress of religious thought by the valuable contributions to theology that have come from his pen. The work forms the fitting crown of Principal Fairbairn's past labours in the elucidation and defence of Christian truth, and contains the result of a lifetime's reflection, experience and study. It is by no means easy reading. It is packed with thought expressed in language which, while always dignified and worthy of the subject, is often severely technical. The very fulness of the author's mind leads him to analyse and expand and illustrate the thought to an extent that is apt to obscure the course of the argument. And the reader becomes weary in the effort to catch the sense of the balanced antithetic clauses and the compact generalised forms of statement that are characteristics of his style. But it is almost ungracious to refer to these matters when there is spread before us so rich a feast of good things as this volume contains. If it is difficult, it is also most stimulating reading. The author discusses a multitude of topics and has something fresh to say about every one of them. We know no book published in late years that can be compared with it for wealth of thought, extent of learning and original insight as well as largeness of view and sustained brilliancy of exposition. The author is equally at home in the handling of great principles of truth and in the marshalling of details and facts that bear on their illustration.

The book may be regarded as a continuation of the author's last work on the *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*. Its object is to restate the doctrine of the Person of Christ in terms that exhibit and justify, "the place He holds and the functions He has fulfilled in the life of man, collective and individual" (p. 17). "The secret of such a Personality," he says, "is not explained when historical science and literary art have combined to tell the story of the life He lived, or of how He was conceived in ages of imaginative faith and metaphysical enthusiasm; but only when such a coherent conception of Him is reached as will show Him in organic relation to the whole system of things" (p. 17). The principle underlying the entire discussion is that "the conception of Christ stands related to history as the idea of God is related to nature, *i.e.*, each is in its own sphere the factor of order, or the constitutive condition of a rational system" (p. 18). The aim of the author then is to establish such a conception of Christ as illustrates the supreme place He fills in the life of man, the universal function He discharges, the completeness with which He answers to the idea of One who is to be the Founder of a universal religion.

This is a most fruitful field of enquiry, and one to which the best thought of our day is turning. The defects of the old formulated statements of the Person of Christ are well known and have often been set forth. What is needed is a restatement of the doctrine based on a fresh interpretation of the Person on such lines as are suggested above, that will, from a different point of view and with the aid of new conceptions, do the same justice to that sense of the infinite worth of Christ that is rendered by, though imperfectly expressed in, the metaphysical formulæ of the early Councils.

It is impossible in a brief notice to convey a proper idea of the vast field covered by this book. I can only indicate the main course of the argument. The volume consists of two parts. The first, occupying one half of the book, deals with "Questions in the Philosophy of nature and mind which affect belief in the Supernatural Person".

Starting from the presupposition of Christian theology that

Jesus is a supernatural Person, the author is met at the outset with the question, whether the idea of the supernatural is compatible with the scientific view of nature which "admits no miracle, knows no supernatural". An idealist in philosophy, Dr. Fairbairn has no difficulty in showing that there is a transcendental element involved in our view of nature and man. Thought, reason, mind is prior to nature. Again, will in man is a moral cause and is not to be measured by nature but transcends it. "But the transcendental in philosophy is the correlate of the supernatural in theology". The philosophical analysis of personality thus discloses the reality of the supernatural; and this element in man it is that gives to personality in every sphere its creative power. "It is consonant with man's nature and God's method of forming and reforming it that He should send a supreme Personality as the vehicle of the highest good to the race. If a Person has appeared in history who has fulfilled this function, how can He be more fitly described than as the Son of God and the Saviour of the race?"

As far then as the *formal* elements of the Person of Christ are concerned, these are conceived by the author to be the same as those of any other person, the difference being the fulness in Him of that ideal or supernatural element which enters in measure into every personality. This is the assumption of the argument all through the book. The term *supernatural* is here used in the philosophical sense, not as the antithesis but as the complement of the natural, "the causal existence, the Permanent Reality that binds man and nature together and determines the ideas that govern men" (p. 30). Dr. Fairbairn declines to discuss the miraculous as distinguished from the supernatural so defined and understood. The religious or ideal significance of miraculous events so-called is alone of interest to him. This, the view-point of the idealistic philosophy, is maintained throughout the volume.

The chapters following, on the "Problem of Evil in its bearings on the Religious Question," are amongst the most interesting and helpful of all, and glow with that moral passion that makes the book as a whole most impressive

reading. While vindicating the goodness of God in creating the world and in maintaining the conditions that allow moral evil to come into the world and continue in it, the author holds we are not to shrink from affirming the responsibility of God to His creatures for the system under which evil has been introduced, the Incarnation and the continued action of God in grace pointing to this as a root-conception of the New Testament.

This brings us to the chapter on the "Philosophy of History". In history we see the continued creative activity of God at work in the world, seeking to realise in men the ideals that make for freedom and righteousness. God carries on this work by the influence of ideas that have power to master the impulses of nature, and also through individual men who embody these ideas. And if the question arises, whence have ideas the power to take possession of men's minds and to incorporate themselves in man's conduct, the answer is, Religion. To understand man and the powers that move him to a higher life, we must understand religion.

We are then conducted to the deeply instructive chapters on the "Philosophy of Religion" which occupy the rest of this division of the book. Here the reader feels he is on ground that Principal Fairbairn has made in a pre-eminent sense his own. His familiarity with every phase of thought in which men have set forth their religious ideas, and every sort of practice associated with the worship of the Deity, is indeed remarkable. He illustrates very strikingly and at length the supreme place of religion in the life of the world. "It is the organising idea of society," "the commanding idea of human conduct," "the imperial idea of our thinking," "the force which holds the whole social system together" (p. 192). "It is in his religion that man knows himself man, and through it he realises his manhood." "He who can create its most perfect form is a supreme benefactor" (pp. 197-199).

Religion has a common and single root. But if so, how have we such a multitude of religions? The author mentions several causes which work for variation. But chief of these must be recognised the action of personalities, men of creative

genius. This leads to the discussion of the historical religions which are distinguished from those that are spontaneous, or due to the action of the common reason, by this mark, that they go back to historical personalities as their founders.

It is interesting now to note what in our author's view is necessary that a historic personality be the founder of a religion. He must be a creative genius, "in whom there is such a transcendence of local conditions as cannot be explained by the completest inheritance of the past, a personality that so embodies a new ideal as to awaken in man the imitative passion and the interpretative imagination" (p. 263). The founder is distinguished from the reformer. What changes the reformer into the founder is not so much his own act as his people's, "the creative action of his personality on their imagination forcing them to invest him with Divine functions and attributes". The founder must not only have a *historical* value for the religion. He must have also an *ideal* value for it, embodying for man the ultimate truth it concerns him to know. His position as a founder is, properly speaking, due to the act of the society by whom the historical personality has been idealised and made the "interpretative and normative term of the highest religious ideas" (p. 265). A founded religion thus may be defined as a religion whose "ultimate truth is an historical person speculatively considered" (p. 265). There are but three founded religions, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity. And in each of these it is the *ideal* significance of the person that determines the essential value of the founder to man and religion, the supreme relation in which he is conceived by the worshipper to stand to God, and to the ends of human life (p. 287).

We have now reached the second part of the book—on the "Person of Christ and the Making of the Christian Religion". This, in accordance with what has been said is divided into two sections, the Person of Christ *historically* considered, and the Person of Christ *interpreted*, or the "creation of the Christian religion through the apostolic construction of Jesus as the Christ". The result of the whole is summed up in

the concluding section on the "comparison of the elements and ideas in this interpretation with those most constitutive in the ideal of religion as conserved and exemplified in the historical religion".

First, we have a discussion at length of the historic Figure of Christ as presented in the Synoptic Gospels, in which, from various points of view, the author seeks to illustrate the perfect unity of the natural and supernatural elements in the Person of Christ that characterises the Gospel picture. All here is admirable and suggestively put. But the argument is over-weighted by the redundancy of detail in the author's references to Gospel incident and fact. We often cannot see the wood for the trees. The teaching of Jesus is summarised in a few pages of great beauty; but it is urged with great force that, however original and impressive, that teaching alone could not have created Christianity. It was not as a teacher that Jesus founded His religion. The significant claims He made for Himself while representing a sovereignty that only a singular relation to the Father could justify, are of themselves insufficient to explain the founding of His religion. "Claims which are to rule the mind and the conscience must have as their ultimate basis not a spoken word, but an idea which appeals to the reason and satisfies the reason to which it appeals." It is then the later or higher teaching in the New Testament, which contains that interpretation of the Christ, which may be described as the creation of the Christian religion.

We come then to the important chapter on the apostolic interpretation of Christ. Our author does not state very definitely what that interpretative idea of Christ is that is common to John, Paul, and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, who are mainly responsible for what is known as apostolic doctrine. It may, however, be said in general, that these writers agree in ascribing to Christ a divine dignity and pre-eminence in virtue of which He is to them the central term in a theology or system of religious thought, and the source of a new world of ideas about God and man that became the basis of universal religion. By this interpre-

tation of the transcendental element in the Person of Christ, the historical individual was transformed into a universal, *i.e.*, an absolutely supernatural and creative Personality.

The conclusion to which we seem to be brought by Principal Fairbairn's reasoning is that we must regard the *apostles* as, properly speaking, the founders of Christianity, inasmuch as we owe to them that interpretation of the historical Christ that accounts for the supremacy which belongs to Him in the Christian religion. If inquiry is now made as to the *origin* of the apostolic idea, the author proceeds to show that it cannot be the product of any one mind, still less can it be the result of a mythologising process. The source of it, he contends, is the "mind of Christ. He is the logical premise of the Epistles. . . . In His teaching lie the principles they develop" (p. 425). The brief statement of the author on this important part of his subject will not command the assent of all. It is difficult, if we go by the synoptists alone (and our author excludes the Gospel of John from consideration here, for he regards that Gospel as interpretation rather than as history), to deduce from the teaching of Christ the intellectual conception of Him that rules the epistles. We must here, it seems to me, fall back upon the Christian consciousness, the inward experience of the power of Christ and reflection upon that experience, as the source of the exalted conceptions of His Person in the apostolic literature. Nor will it be disputed by any who hold to the identity of the Christian consciousness with the spirit of Christ, that such a source of truth is as authoritative as the other. In this connection we must also take into account current conceptions that naturally formed the mould into which the apostolic thought ran.

Dr. Fairbairn concludes this part of the subject by an instructive and most valuable chapter on the apostolic interpretation of the "Death of Christ and its bearing on the new conception of worship that the Christian religion embodies". Apostolic thought, interpreting the death of Christ on the one hand by Levitical categories (Epistle to the Hebrews) substituted for the Temple and its sacrifices

the sacrifice of Christ as the divine institution for drawing near to God. Interpreting it, on the other hand, by Rabbinical law, apostolic thought (Paul) read in the death of Christ the deliverance from the old law that made obedience impossible, and the sanction of a new law for the government of human conduct—that principle of love to Christ that has proved itself adequate to inspire the highest obedience to God and the most self-denying service of men. The exegesis of New Testament passages in this chapter will be disputed; but the truth of the principles laid down in it, and their value for the understanding of the essential meaning of the Christian religion, will carry conviction to all minds.

In the last part of the book on the “Religion of Christ and the Ideal Religion,” we have the answer to the question, What are the claims of the religion in which Christ occupies the supreme place to be the ideal and universal religion? Amongst other points the following are insisted upon: the perfection of the social idea enforced and embodied by Christ, His method, by teaching men to be like Himself, for securing the realisation of that ideal, the significance, as the basis of a universal religion, of Christ’s idea of God, the emancipation from local cults and institutions Christ secures for religion by making His own Person the sole institution of worship. These chapters exhibit a fine insight into the genius of Christianity.

No room is left for critical remark on this scheme of thought as a whole. Dr. Fairbairn is a writer who by the boldness and originality of his ideas provokes thought, and there may be a good deal to dissent from in this book. But it is impossible after a careful reading to withhold one’s admiration of it as a splendid effort to vindicate on philosophical grounds the supreme place of Christ in the Christian religion. It is the fashion of the day to oppose the historic Christ to Christological dogma. Literary criticism labours to get back to the actual Historic Figure which the Gospel records, it is alleged, conceal as well as reveal. But here is a writer who shows us that it is the supreme worth of the *ideas* of God, man, human life, of which the Historic Christ

is to faith the exponent, that is the true supernatural in the Person of Christ, and that alone accounts for His sovereign position in the world of humanity. We are grateful to one, who, with so sure a grasp of the ideal side of religion, emphasises once more the value of a true Christology and its importance for the understanding of the religion of Christ. This noble volume should form a useful and much-needed corrective of the excessive prominence given at present to the literary and historic criticism of the Gospels, or at least, of the exaggerated estimate taken by many of its results.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

The World's Epoch-makers: Origen and Greek Patristic Theology.

By Rev. William Fairweather, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 268. Price 3s.

ORIGEN, a dazzling name with a halo clouded by unjust obloquy, was really the first of the "schoolmen," as well as the first founder of textual criticism, of exegesis and of parenetics in the Christian Church. Read "Aristotle" for "Plato," and transpose his mental attitude to the latter by a millennium, and we find that attitude reproduced, of course with modifications due to epoch and environment; but much more to the fact of his intense and noble personality—his openness of soul and buoyancy of native genius, by virtue of which he floats free and large in the empyrean of spiritual speculation. Accordingly he fills a niche in the series of "epoch-makers" of the world edited by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton. The present edition is by Rev. W. Fairweather, who has felt the fascination of his subject, and transmits it unimpaired to his readers.

Origen is one of the great men of whose mothers we know little or nothing. Jerome records (*Ep.*, xxxix., 1) the fact that she had a knowledge of Hebrew, whence it has been conjectured that she was a converted Jewess.¹ It is recorded also that when he was in the impetuosity of youth bent on sharing his father's prison and martyrdom, she circumvented his purpose by secreting his clothes. His own statement that when baffled by a Hebrew word, he turned for help to some "Jewish converts," might of course in that general phrase include herself.

The most Christ-like of the Fathers of the Church, early

¹ The question, however, is open whether this "Hebrew" was not a mere local *patois* current among Alexandrian Jews.

ripe and early busy in the things of "his Father," it may be said of him, more abused than any one of them in life and after death, that "when he was reviled he reviled not again". Athanasius passed a life of similar expulsions, escapes and sufferings, maledictions and calumnies, but all the world stood by his grave in admiration for the man whom one half of it had never respited from such persecution during life. Not so Origen: his works were proscribed and his "name cast out as evil" two centuries after his death by the virulence of faction and the mendaciousness of sycophancy. A later posterity has vindicated his memory until "over-speculative" is probably the only detraction to be made from the estimate of a soul and mind so nearly flawless.

In our own day what has most effected a revival of interest in the teaching of Origen is the popularity of the opinion of the unlimited possibility of salvation to the greatest sinners dying impenitent; through some occult process of redemption, renovation and pardon, to take effect presumably after this life. This gives occasion to remark that actual experience of man as a moral agent is not in favour of such a change. What we find is that human beings tend to fix themselves in a definite type of character under the force of habit, and that a comparatively short space of time suffices for that result. Thus a few years seem capable of producing an effect on the inner man which remains, for good or for evil, distinct and final, so far as our observation can follow it. What seemed once responsive and plastic has become fixed and set. We ground our own estimate of a man as sober or the reverse, continent or sensual, trustworthy or fallacious, precisely upon this known law of everyday experience; and society, not all at once, but after experience adequately prolonged, passes its verdict upon its own members for its own purposes in all the relations of life. Nor, so far as one can see, is that verdict often in error, nor do sufficient grounds often arise for reversing it. Of course there are rare and exceptional cases of the opposite kind. But they are too rare and exceptional to frame an opposite social theory upon. The comparative shortness of the period which suffices for the self-determining

process of the moral creature, and the often protracted period during which its results display themselves when the character is established, often indeed with a cumulative accretion as years roll on, are surely facts of a momentous character. They suggest an argument from analogy, which, applied in the spiritual sphere, is not favourable to the view of final rescue and eternal salvation either for all or for the great majority of impenitents, *i.e.*, assuming their existence indefinitely prolonged. Indeed the whole idea of "probation" seems to imply that such a definite result is reached. Otherwise we continue the period of proof indefinitely, with, of course, the consequence that nothing is ever proved. And if a short portion of an average human lifetime yields such a definite result, what reason is there for supposing that a repetition of the process would be other than confirmatory of that result, even though prolonged through as many millennia as we please to assume? Of course to the Divine Mercy and to the Holy Spirit's unsearchable workings, no barrier of the impossible can be placed. But it surely demands a very clear and definite revelation to enable us to set aside so strong a presumption of human analogy against that optimism of hope which pleads the great name of Origen in its favour. Of course, Origen coupled with that view the belief in the pre-existence of souls, which might conceivably form a basis for modifying that presumption. But this *pace tanti viri* is really launching into the Unknown; and few, if any, of those who plead him for the larger hope in modern days share that view of his. But beyond all this, his "allegorical method" enabled him in effect to read into Scripture whatever he had preconceived, say, on philosophic grounds, as to be found in it; but here again, his latter-day disciples would reject his premises, while they claim his conclusions. And here we venture to qualify our author's remarks in "Prefatory Note," p. ix., that Origen "never failed to distinguish between his own opinions and the rule of faith as contained in Holy Scripture"; because unlimited allegorisation converts it into "a leaden rule" by an unconscious subjective process.

We notice with pleasure the painstaking impartiality of our author in dealing with a memory, and even it might be said a personality, than which none of foremost rank has ever probably suffered more, alike from its enemies and its friends. Origen himself complained that a forged account of his disputation with Candidus the heretic was circulated in his lifetime. Jerome is cited for the statement that his genuine writings were corrupted similarly; while his friend and patron Ambrosius, by indiscreet haste in publishing what he never meant for publication, seriously compromised him. His great work, *de Principiis*, is preserved only¹ in the Latin of Rufinus, who took violent liberties of excision. Rufinus and Jerome between them freely "doctored" other writings to bring them up to a reputed orthodox standard; believing that they had been corrupted by heretical depravity, and perhaps with reason (pp. 55 and note, 52 and note, 125). But most unfair of all was the falsification of his entire mental attitude in certain discussions, founded doubtless on the dialectic method of the Platonic dialogue in which questions are freely discussed without any deliberate result being reached or only a provisional solution given. Athanasius says that he sometimes wrote *ζητῶν καὶ γυμνάζων* only (*Def. Nic. Fid.*, vi., 27), an important testimony which the author has not recorded. There is only one point of defective erudition which we have struck upon, in the note on p. 121, where we read, "The word usually rendered 'for the chief musician' he (Origen) renders 'to the end'." But the rendering, *εἰς τὸ τέλος*, appears everywhere in the LXX text where the Hebrew word occurs in the title of a psalm, and therefore is *not* Origen's rendering. It gives us a startling measure of the poor equipment of the LXX translators for their task, being in fact a confusion of *לְמִנְצֵחַ* with *לְנִצָּח* (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 1, Isa. xxxiv. 10).

¹ Except a few excerpts from two books out of thirty.

HENRY HAYMAN.

Samuel and His Age.

A Study in the Constitutional History of Israel. By George C. M. Douglas, D.D., Joint Principal of the United Free Church College, Glasgow, and formerly Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis there. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1901. Demy 8vo, pp. xxiii. + 276. Price 6s.

THIS book, in the words of the author, "deals with history pure and simple. The aim has been to begin by taking the account of Samuel given in the Bible as being what it professes to be, and to discuss it with willingness to do justice to the statements, yet at the same time to put their reasonableness and verisimilitude to the test of close examination" (p. 250). It is written throughout in the spirit of loyalty to the evangelical teaching and the supernatural character of the Old Testament which distinguishes all Principal Douglas' works on Old Testament Scripture. Like Kuenen, at the beginning of his *Religion of Israel*, Principal Douglas states his point of view. It is unnecessary to say that it is at the opposite pole from that of the great Dutch critic. "For us," says Kuenen, "the Israelitish is one of those (the principal religions), nothing less, but also nothing more." Dealing with the view that there is a specific difference between Israel's religion and its sisters, he says—"Without a shadow of a doubt, we deny the existence of such a difference".¹ Dr. Douglas says—"Till the contrary is proved I shall assume that these books are a history that is true, and worthy of our belief; for my own part I accept them as nothing less than the inspired word of God" (Preface, p. xiv.).

The exposition of the history given by the Principal is mainly confined to the first half of 1 Samuel. Attention

¹ *Religion of Israel*, Eng. Trans., 1874, pp. 5, 10.

is directed to the appearance, in the history of Israel, of four pairs of eminent men : Moses and Joshua, Samuel and David, Elijah and Elisha, Ezra and Nehemiah (pp. 2 ff.). Further, in the chapters of 1 Samuel specially examined, the number *three* has a prominent place which does not escape the eye of the Principal. Three signs are given by Samuel to Saul, (pp. 167 ff.), on three occasions Saul is made King (pp. 160 ff.), probably at the three places at which Samuel acted as judge (pp. 188 ff.); and the conjecture is thrown out that these three places were connected with the three great religious festivals of Israel (p. 193) [*cf.* also Saul's three great offences (pp. 198 ff.)]. All this reminds us of Nöldeke's examination of what used to be known as the Elohist document (now P or PC). Nöldeke regarded a series of important figures in the document as an evidence of untrustworthiness.¹ Dr. Douglas thinks that Samuel desired to bring together the people, and the young king about to be appointed, at the three centres from which he conducted the administration of affairs in the belief that there he might "most naturally and easily transfer his authority to the king with the consent of all the parties" (p. 172).

The Principal expresses the hope that his work may contribute to belief in the unity of the narratives in Samuel (Preface, p. xv.). On many points critics will not agree with him; but it does not follow that the Principal is wrong. Attention is properly directed to a defect in the critical argument, the circular reasoning which lies at the heart of the proposed reconstruction of Old Testament history (p. 21). In certain cases it may be impossible to avoid circular reasoning; and the history of Israel may furnish such a case. However that may be, the fact is that the critical reconstruction of the history of Israel still proceeds in accordance with Graf's assumption that the book of Deuteronomy was prepared about the beginning of the reign of Josiah (if the latter part of the reign of Manasseh is preferred the argument is not affected). That assumption is substantially the working hypothesis of the critics, and, in accordance with it,

¹ *Untersuchungen*, etc., 1869, pp. 110 ff.

a certain conclusion is arrived at regarding the early history and legislation of Israel, the first four books of the Pentateuch forming the chief sources of information. When that conclusion has been reached and recorded, the same books are re-read, and whatever is found inconsistent with the result already arrived at is set down as unhistorical. It may be all right ; but the circular reasoning is obvious. Suppose a critic started with the assumption that Deuteronomy belongs, as it professes to belong, to the Mosaic period, and read the first four books of the Pentateuch in accordance with that assumption—would the procedure be less scientific than that of the critics who follow Graf? That question raises another which must be answered on the square, *viz.*, Which of the assumptions best suits the age to which it is assigned? According to Grafian critics, Deuteronomy belongs to the early period of the reign of Josiah, and forms the basis of the Reformation carried out by that king. If that view is correct it is fair to presuppose that the legislation *peculiar* to Deuteronomy will be *reformatory* in character. Space does not allow a detailed reference to that legislation. But it may be said that a portion of the laws cannot be regarded as reformatory, in any proper sense, while others, whose reformatory character may be admitted, are as applicable to reforming effort, prior to Josiah's day, as to the earnest enterprise which characterised his reign—even the law centralising worship should be presupposed as the basis of Hezekiah's Reformation. So far then as the special legislation of Deuteronomy is concerned, the working hypothesis of Grafian critics can scarcely be said to suit the circumstances of the time to which it is referred. Other matters point in the same direction, such as the use of the name of Moses, by an unknown prophet, in the case of so important a message, while Jeremiah, a contemporary, followed prophetic precedent and spoke in the name of Jehovah ; the extermination of the Canaanites (chap. vii. 1-5, and chap. xx. 16-18) and the Amalekites (chap. xxv. 17-19), while Assyrians had already, for a century, occupied the northern kingdom, and Babylon was about to occupy Judah. These and other points

of detail require further consideration than they have yet received before the Grafian view of Deuteronomy can be accepted with confidence as a working hypothesis for the reconstruction of the history and legislation of Israel. And therefore the kind of circular reasoning to which Principal Douglas refers still lacks justification.

Principal Douglas refers to another matter which should be laid to heart by earnest-minded laymen. The critics are experts, and the Principal appeals from them to the jury. "It is the jury," he writes, "who have to determine the weight to be attached to the opinions of the witnesses; and in . . . public trials it is often the opinion of experts which is handled with greatest severity by the good common sense of those who take cognisance of it" (p. 20). There is good reason for this observation by the Principal. The critical question at present is largely historical. The translation of the Old Testament in the Revised Version is sufficiently accurate for such a discussion. The jury whom Dr. Douglas has in view is the Church. And it will be a fatal mistake—a course of action quite unworthy of our Protestant position—if the Christian laity should leave the settlement of the grave historical questions now under discussion to a comparatively small number of experts in Hebrew. Mr. Gladstone was wont to contend that, on a certain class of questions, the instinct of the masses was more trustworthy than the arguments of the classes. In present biblical discussions, questions arise from time to time, for the settlement of which the instinct of the Christian people is more to be relied on than the psychology of the critics. The Bible is the people's book, and is true to human nature. It is impossible to say so much for the psychology of many of our critics. And if this volume should have the effect of rousing our Christian laymen to make this question their own, it will serve a purpose of high value for the future of Biblical study.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

The World before Abraham.

According to Genesis i.-xi., with an Introduction to the Pentateuch, by H. G. Mitchell, Professor in Boston University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 296. Price \$1.75 net.

Hebräisch und Semitisch.

Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Geschichte der Semitischen Sprachen, nebst einem Excurs über die vorjoshuanische Sprache Israels und die Pentateuchquelle. Von Eduard König, Professor an der Universität Bonn. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 128. Price 4s. net.

Die Alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens und ihre Religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage.

Von D. Fr. Giesebrecht, Ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Königsberg. Königsberg i. Pr.: Verlag von Thomas und Oppermann, 1901. Pp. 144. Price M.4.

Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan.

Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen von Lic. Theol. Dr. Carl Steuernagel, Privatdocent der Theologie in Halle a. S. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Pp. 131. Price 4s. net.

PROFESSOR MITCHELL'S work on Genesis, the first instalment of which is before us, has been undertaken for the purpose of supplying the demand indicated by frequent requests such as the following which appeared in a popular religious weekly: "Kindly give the name of some book on Genesis which treats it from the view-point of modern scholarship". Professor

Mitchell says that thus far little has been done in England or America to meet this widespread demand. "Dillmann's work, which, though very valuable to those who are able to appreciate it, is too large, too learned, and too expensive for most students of the Bible. This state of things ought not to continue." The first part (67 pages) of Professor Mitchell's book is devoted to a discussion of the Pentateuchal question, in which "the law of Moses" is recognised as "a composite work, the growth of the entire period from Moses to Ezra". A lucid account is given of the trend and results of criticism; and this is followed by a translation of Gen. i.-xi., in which the various strata of narratives are indicated by different types. The proper names, being presented in the exact Hebrew, not the ordinary English, forms—'Adham, Hebhel, Kayin, Tubhal, Saray, etc.—give the translation a somewhat forbidding look, and one may doubt the advantage of this relentless accuracy in a book which is intentionally popular. The commentary which follows (pp. 95-284) is admirable. One notes that in Professor Mitchell's view the Serpent of Eden is not Satan but a real animal; that "a local inundation was the common foundation of the three accounts of the Flood; and that the people referred to in the blessing, "May God enlarge Yepheth (Japheth)," is not, as Wellhausen thinks, the Philistines, but, as Budde believes, the Phœnicians.

No one has done better service in the department of Hebrew grammar and syntax than Professor König. The purpose of his latest booklet, which he says he sketched out twelve years ago, is "to show the real historical order of the Semitic languages". Down to the time of Ewald (inclusive) it was believed that Hebrew had the greatest relative antiquity among the Semitic tongues. It is now generally recognised that Arabic stands in closer relation to the original Semitic language, and preserves its grammatical forms more intact, than any of the other branches—Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Assyriac—of the Semitic stem. "In a historical account of the origin of Hebrew grammatical forms we must proceed

from the corresponding forms of Old Arabic, Ethiopic, Assyriac, and not conversely from Hebrew to Old Arabic, etc." Arabic, shut up in its native deserts, was less affected by outside influences than any of the other branches. "That the Arabs themselves were proud of their noble language, and that their grammarians found the light by which they illuminated the darker and more problematical parts of their linguistic treasure in the desert among the Bedouins, who preserved the nobler linguistic forms, depended no doubt partly upon their lofty national consciousness, but may at the same time have arisen from a true instinct of comparative philology." The latter part of Dr. König's book is devoted to an examination and refutation of Hommel's theory that from the time of Abraham to that of Joshua the Hebrews spoke a pure Aramaic dialect.

What is the meaning of the words, "in the name of Jahve"? This is the question which Professor Giesebrecht tries to answer in his latest brochure. The divine "name" is usually said to signify whatever has been revealed to man regarding God, whatever man knows about God. Giesebrecht examines the views—mostly to the same effect—of Schultz, Riehm, Dillmann, Cremer, Stade, Smend, and others, and is not satisfied with any of them. Another view has forced itself upon him. "For primitive mankind a name has a dæmonic character. It is the *double* of the bearer, be he God or man, and must be treated with the utmost caution." Skilfully used the divine name is the magical means of constraining the deity to obey man's behests. Search is made in the folklore of different nations for evidence in support of this theory. Giesebrecht admits that in the language of the prophets the "name" of Jahve has been completely ethicised, but contends that in the popular usage the old magical significance never ceased to make itself felt, and that this explains many things in the Old Testament. Here Giesebrecht seems as yet to stand alone. In the article on "Name" in the *Encycl. Bib.*, Professor Cheyne is content with the ordinary theory that "to

primitive man the name is the expression of the personality," and "the 'name' of a God is properly his manifestation".

"When the legend represents the twelve patriarchs as sons of one man (Jacob-Israel), this confessedly means that the corresponding twelve tribes are the subdivisions of a greater community, the people of Israel." This is the hypothesis on which Dr. Steuernagel bases an interesting discussion regarding the immigration of the tribes of Israel into Canaan. From the genealogical system he deduces the theory that the people of Israel at first consisted of the four tribes of Leah, Rachel, Bilhah and Zilpah, which were afterwards divided into the twelve tribes. This latter division was, he thinks, unknown until after the settlement in Canaan. "The tribes of Leah at the time of the immigration formed but a single tribe." The fact that Zilpah is called the handmaid of Leah means that "the tribes of Zilpah were only half-Israelitish". The Hebrews intermarried with the Canaanites and founded the new tribes which were half-heathenish. Hence the names of Zilpah's children, Gad and Asher, are the names of heathen gods. Further, the children of Leah and Zilpah were older than those of Rachel and Bilhah. This means that after the first immigration into Canaan there was a second from Syria, and the resulting fusion—the marriage of Jacob and Rachel—gave rise to the new tribes of Rachel (full-Israelitish) and Bilhah (half-heathenish). The statement that Joseph's younger son Ephraim was preferred to Manasseh the elder expresses the historical fact that first Manasseh and then Ephraim was the stronger of the two tribes. In every part of the family history Dr. Steuernagel finds a reflection of actual occurrences during or subsequent to the time of the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan. In the second half of his book he endeavours to bring his theories into relation with the various strata of narratives in Numbers and Joshua. In the Jehovistic story he finds a good many phenomena which confirm his hypothesis; in the later narratives scarcely anything.

JAMES STRACHAN.

Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien.

*Von Dr. W. Wrede, o. Professor d. ev. Theologie zu Breslau.
Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht ; London : Williams
& Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. vii. + 291. Price 8s. net.*

THIS is an irritating book. It is written in a series of short, jerky paragraphs. The chapters have numberless subdivisions. Just when you expect to follow some sustained course of reasoning, you are hurried off to a new group of arguments, with the promise that those left behind will be resumed later on.

The main subject is the testing of the Gospel tradition of Jesus as the Messiah. Some sentences in the Preface tend to shake our confidence in the author's point of view. "History," he says (p. vi.), "teaches that after the writing down of the earliest Gospels, extraordinary alterations were made in the portrait of Jesus. Why it must have been otherwise *before* then, I cannot see." It scarcely requires much insight to reply that the nearer the tradition stood to the events, the more likely it was to be true to facts. Certainly Wrede does not attempt to conceal his presuppositions. He openly speaks of historical investigation as "not recognising miracles in the strict sense" (p. 48). "It is evident," we are told in another place (p. 87), "that Jesus cannot have prophesied the absolute miracle of an immediate return to life."

Assuming with most scholars that our Mark or a Gospel extremely like it lies at the basis of the other two Synoptists, and that therefore on Mark rests the main responsibility for the tradition regarding the course and development of the life of Jesus, Wrede sets that Gospel necessarily in the forefront of his investigation. Indeed, the sub-title of the book is "a contribution to the understanding of Mark's Gospel". He approaches his subject with the explicit purpose of correcting

certain defects which he finds prominent in contemporary criticism. This will be possible if various cautions are kept in view. We have to remember, for example, that the material presented to us in the Gospels is only the conception formed by a later narrator of the life of Jesus, and that this conception is not identical with the actual facts. Surely this is a most unwarranted assumption for a scientific investigator to *start with*. He may be compelled to that conclusion later on, but it is a begging of the whole question to begin at that point. Again Wrede considers that critics have shown a disposition to read into the narrative ideas which never occurred to the writer. Unfortunately no critic has afforded more numerous examples of this practice than Wrede himself. A further charge which he brings against his fellow investigators is that of "psychological conjecture". He sneers at some who "reveal such an intimate acquaintance with the inner life of Jesus that one might doubt whether he was listening to a close friend of Jesus or reading a novel" (p. 3). This distrust is a most convenient weapon. And it is constantly used by Wrede, who, when he wishes to get rid of an interpretation inconvenient for his theory, describes it as "a mere judgment of taste" (e.g., p. 61). But surely psychological conjecture is quite indispensable for the interpretation of history. And when the history is that of the most marvellous spiritual movement known to the human race, psychological conjecture may be merely a disparaging name for that spiritual sympathy which is, after all, the safest clue to the problems of the Gospels. Here again, we find our author repeatedly falling into the dangers against which he warns. He speaks, e.g., of "an idea which Jesus could not have hit upon" (p. 49). In commenting on the phrase *ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων* (Mark i. 22) in the interests of his theory, he affirms that by these words Mark *cannot* have meant the mighty, overpowering impression of the preaching of Jesus, as we should naturally interpret them. In fact, he is always ready to suggest the lines which the Evangelist's thoughts must have followed. His own *dictum* applies literally to the method which he employs: "It appears to me urgently

necessary that in this matter (*i.e.*, psychological conjecture) we should get rid of subjective judgments" (p. 3).

Perhaps it will tend to clearness, if we begin by stating the results which Wrede reaches from his investigation of Mark. "We find in Mark," he says, "two conceptions. (1) So long as He is on earth, Jesus keeps His Messiahship a secret. (2) No doubt He reveals Himself to the disciples in contrast to the multitude, but even to them, for the time being, He remains in His revelations unintelligible. Both conceptions, which often pass over into each other, have for their basis the view that the real knowledge of what He is begins with His resurrection. This conception of the concealed Messiahship has in Mark a notable expansion. It controls many sayings of Jesus, numerous stories of miracles, and in effect the whole course of the historical narrative." How has this astonishing position been arrived at? Obviously, the narrative, as it has come down to us, must be severely handled, in order to admit of such an interpretation. Our author is aware that critics of all schools have professed to find in Mark the genuine historical course of the life of Jesus. This, he believes, is the supreme obstacle to the right comprehension of the Gospel. "A multitude of things must be read between the lines of Mark, if one wishes to prove in him a really intelligible development. Why does Jesus statedly forbid them to speak of His Messianic dignity and His miraculous deeds? Why is He silent in presence of the disciples? The motive that He desires them to reach the true attitude towards Him from within outwards is not hinted at and is not self-evident" (p. 13). It is precisely at this point that most unprejudiced critics will join issue with Wrede. This purpose of Jesus is the most self-evident thing in the Gospels. Our author may call it a "judgment of taste". To the majority of reasonable students of the narrative it will appear a judgment based on facts. Wrede continues: "In the same way we are asked to conjecture that Jesus points to His sufferings in order to purify the Messianic faith of the disciples from Jewish dross. Might we not expect occasionally a hint of such motives?" We

fail to see any reason for such hints. The evangelist was writing for early Christians who would probably find little difficulty in grasping the situation, and not for twentieth-century critics with pet theories to establish. The method adopted by Wrede to justify his hypothesis proceeds on the following lines. First, he examines the knowledge of Jesus as Messiah exhibited by the demoniacs in the Gospel of Mark. These narratives are pronounced to be unhistorical, largely because they are not *psychologically* intelligible. Here we have psychological presuppositions applied as tests to certain facts, the very procedure against which we are warned at the outset. The author deals next with the commands of Jesus regarding secrecy. He postulates a common explanation for all the separate instances. Of course he is aware of the usual solution of the problem, namely the desire of Jesus to avoid all political complications or any course which might appeal to the national hopes of the multitude. We can find nothing unsatisfactory in this hypothesis. The chief objection Wrede brings against it is the behaviour of Jesus on His last entry into Jerusalem. Why does He then allow Himself quietly "to be made the object of a Messianic ovation?" (p. 40). Surely it is obvious that by this time there was a complete revolution in popular feeling. He could readily judge by the signs of the times that there was not the slightest probability of a national up-rising in His favour. A further support for his theory is found by Wrede in the parabolic teaching of Jesus. Here he rests his case on the admittedly difficult utterance of our Lord in Mark iv. 12. But is not this quotation from Isaiah used by Jesus in the spirit of the prophet, feeling poignantly that his most zealous efforts to instruct his fellow-countrymen in the spiritual truths of the kingdom of God would often be in vain, and hence, in his grief because of failure, representing himself as sent to make ears deaf and eyes blind? But Wrede concludes from this passage that Mark "separates between an esoteric and an exoteric teaching of Jesus". "The expression *παραβολή* is for Mark entirely equivalent to enigma" (p. 55). He rejects the only credible explanation of the words, "Unto you is

given the mystery of the kingdom of God," which is, of course, that the disciples by their adherence to Jesus had already proved that some understanding of the nature of the kingdom had been given them. This explanation is corroborated by ver. 25: "He that hath, to him shall be given," etc. Wrede holds that Mark concluded from the parabolic form of the teaching of Jesus that He intended to communicate something mysterious (p. 60). Surely he forgets that to a man of Jewish descent, instruction by means of parables was no novel phenomenon. On the hypothesis that Mark regards the parables as vehicles of esoteric doctrine, he assails the historicity of the book as a whole, inasmuch as this view of the evangelist's proves how little he understood the historical life and teaching of Jesus.

We have no space to follow in any detail the remaining sections of the discussion. There is an elaborate examination of the predictions of Jesus regarding His sufferings, death and resurrection, which aims at showing that these also were regarded by Mark, from his theological standpoint, as belonging to the secret of the Messiah which the disciples failed to understand (pp. 81-101). In no part of the book is there a more arbitrary handling of the narrative to suit an artificial theory. A notable instance is the treatment of viii. 32 ff., where Peter rebukes his Master for the announcement of His death. Wrede admits that the scene is life-like, but the fact that Peter seems, in one sense to understand the words of Jesus, and yet, in another, to fail in grasping them, to have a mind for the things of men (*φρονεῖν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*), and not for the things of God, is enough to stamp the incident as a product of Mark's reflection. A verdict like this is surely most significant in its bearing on the author's power of estimating a spiritual situation.

We have confined ourselves in this notice to the first division of the book, that dealing with Mark. The second division briefly examines Matthew, Luke, and John in the light of the hypothesis which we have described. The third contains an attempt to grasp the idea of the concealed Messiahship in its historical setting. The following quotation from this closing

section is typical of the whole discussion, as revealing the author's curious lack of sympathy with the inner side of the historical development unfolded in the Gospels. "An essential difficulty for the assumption that Jesus proclaimed Himself as the Messiah lies in the fact that one cannot easily specify what He meant by it. If the thought of a Messianic proclamation in the political, patriotic-revolutionary sense is excluded, what then is the meaning of the Messianic claim?" Characteristic for the situation is the answer which Wellhausen has given. Jesus put aside all Jewish conceptions of Messiah. He directed His hope and longings "toward another ideal of a higher order. Only in this sense can He have named Himself the Messiah: they were to look for no other. He was not the Messiah whom they desired, but He was the true Messiah whom they ought to desire." "I confess," says Wrede, "that I cannot form any conception of this. A Jewish man who lives and works in the midst of his people substitutes for the firmly established idea of Messiah something which does away with all its peculiar characteristics, he transforms a theocratic-eschatological notion into one which belongs to spiritual religion, such as was foreign to any Jew" (p. 220). An investigator who stands so far apart from the central things of the Christian revelation as these words would indicate ought surely to occupy himself with a more congenial subject than the life of Jesus.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Predigten.

Von Dr. Friedrich Loofs, ordentlichem Professor der Kirchengeschichte an der Universität Halle. Zweite Reihe. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer. Pp. viii. + 316. Price M.3.

DR. LOOFS' second volume of sermons will receive a hearty welcome from all who are familiar with his writings. They are "academic" inasmuch as they were, for the most part, preached from the Halle University pulpit, but even when the students of the University are directly addressed we hear the voice of the pastor rather than of the professor. Difficulties are never shirked, but there are no detailed discussions of critical questions to remind his audience of the lecture-room. The preacher is far more anxious to put his youthful hearers on their guard against spiritual perils than to suggest a solution of the problems which disturb the schools.

The first of the thirty sermons was preached at the funeral of the author's father, and strikes the keynote of the volume: "This world and all that is in the world cannot give rest to a restless soul that feels its sin. . . . This Saviour, full of grace, is not Himself a part of this poor, sinful, fleeting world, but the Lord from heaven, sent by the Father into the world that He may raise us, poor sinners, from this fleeting world to the living, holy and eternal God." It is because the studies of Dr. Loofs—a foremost representative of the critical school—have not robbed him of "The Sinner's Saviour," that he can preach from 1 Tim. i. 15 at the burial of his father—an esteemed village pastor of the older Lutheran school. Is not the son right in maintaining earnestly that the reconciliation of theologians now ranged in opposing camps would be hastened, if those who belong to the different groups would take heed to the advice which his father gave him, when he

left home for the university: "In times of doubt, hold fast to this—'I am a sinner and need a Saviour,'—and you will always find your way back to the right path"?

A special characteristic of these sermons is the absence of any prejudice against the supernatural combined with the most unhesitating recognition of the rights of criticism. Those who find a stumbling-block in the miracles of the Gospels are told that the words of Jesus and not His wonderful works are of chief importance; nevertheless, the old dilemma is confidently re-stated: either Jesus Christ rose from the dead or our faith is vain. "The old gospel—the gospel of the Apostles, the gospel of the Reformation—stands or falls with the resurrection of the Lord." In his treatment of this fundamental article of the Christian faith Dr. Loofs is quite independent of, and surely more scientific than Dr. Harnack, to whom he has often acknowledged great indebtedness and of whom he often reminds us in his fervour of spirit and grace of style. He has an open mind for all suggestions which aim at distinguishing the words of the Lord from the words of the Evangelists, but he is more conscious than many critics of the difficulty of separating the kernel from the husk. "The Gospel is God's message to men, the history is a narrative of the biblical writers. . . . We can draw a distinction between the Gospel and the history, but we cannot separate them. For the Gospel itself is glad tidings of what God has *done* for our salvation."

As studies in homiletics these sermons deserve attention. Dr. Loofs displays great skill in relating different themes to one central principle, his divisions are often exceedingly happy, whilst his illustrations are numerous and always apposite. The Gospel for the 10th Sunday after Trinity (Luke xix. 41-48) suggested to older writers an earnest call to repentance, but it furnishes to Dr. Loofs a suitable topic for an appeal on behalf of the work of deaconesses. The three pictures—Jesus weeping over Jerusalem, Jesus driving the traders out of the temple, Jesus persecuted by the high priests and scribes—set before us three different classes who were alike in their refusal to allow Jesus to help them. The

theme, therefore, is "Love that would help resisted," and the three divisions show that for such love there is (1) a time for weeping, (2) a time for reproving, and (3) a time for suffering. In all these ways deaconesses are called to imitate their Lord.

To many readers the apt poetic quotations will prove an additional charm. Paul Gerhardt is most frequently drawn upon, but Philipp Spitta, Rückert and other less-known authors are represented, some of the most telling extracts being taken from the "Poems of Carl von Fircks" now out of print.

J. G. TASKER.

Bible Characters—Stephen to Timothy.

By Alexander Whyte, D.D. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901.

THOUGH the title of this volume indicates that many Bible characters, from Stephen to Timothy, are dealt with, it is pre-eminently Dr. Whyte's manifesto on Paul. Of the 294 pages in the book upwards of 160 are devoted to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Paul as a student, Paul as apprehended of Christ Jesus, Paul in Arabia; Paul's visit to Jerusalem to see Peter, Paul as a preacher, Paul as a pastor, Paul as a controversialist, Paul as a man of prayer, Paul as a believing man, Paul as the chief of sinners, The thorn in Paul's flesh, Paul as sold under sin, Paul's blamelessness as a minister, Paul as an evangelical mystic, Paul's great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart, Paul the aged. It is worth any man's while to read Dr. Whyte on themes like these. The preaching is all so characteristic, so strong, so sympathetic, so broad, so intense and searching, so wholesome. It may be questioned whether Dr. Whyte has ever done anything better than this singularly fine "appreciation" of Paul. And the style is so strenuous. I doubt if Dr. Whyte's style, for its clearness, its nervous energy, its manifest roots in all great English classics, has ever had full justice done to it. He writes supremely as the preacher, and his sermons bear translation to the page of print without the alteration of a word, successfully. This, and his *Newman* taken together, constitute a rare contribution to Pauline literature. Of course Dr. Whyte here, as everywhere, shows the defects of his qualities. There is emphasis which becomes exaggeration, yet no man would dare to question the preacher's utter sincerity. And, while one would not make too much of it, Dr. Whyte's preaching has gained unspeakably from his recent devotion to Paul. It has become more objective. The morbid anatomy has been restrained.

The Gospel which Paul called "my Gospel" has never been more powerfully presented. In the chapter on "Paul as a Preacher," there is a passage which reads like a confession. He is speaking of "that greatest of all Paul's doctrines of grace". And he asks, "Why was that blessed doctrine so long in being preached by some right divine to me? Why was I, myself, so long in learning and in preaching this first principle of the doctrine of Christ?" No one, save Dr. Whyte himself, would have thought of accusing him of any neglect of truth which is so distinctively Pauline as pardon through God's free grace. Yet this confession has been treated as if the minister of St. George's were entering on a new era in his ministry. One must not forget Dr. Whyte's large style, and the way in which a thought possesses him for the moment to the exclusion of every other. The chapters on Paul's ministry are admirable beyond all praise. Who but Dr. Whyte could speak so finely about Paul as a controversialist? The entire Church is indebted to him for this beyond most of his former "appreciations". It is his most characteristic book.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Studien über das Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius auf Grund einer Echtheitsuntersuchung von Athanasius *contra gentes* und *de incarnatione*.

Von Karl Hoss. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig und Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. + 130.

Athanasiana: Litterar- und Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen.

Von Alfred Stülcken, Pastor in Lübeck. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. [Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F. iv., 4.] 8vo, pp. viii. + 150. Price 5s. net.

2. Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien. Zusammengestellt und zum Teil übersetzt.

Von Lic. Theol. Wilhelm Riedel, Privatdocent an der Universität Kiel. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1900. 8vo, pp. iv. + 310. Price 7s.

3. Die Pfaff'schen Irenaeus-Fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen, U.S.A.

Von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1900; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 148. Price 5s.

4. Titus Von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien.

Von Joseph Sickenberger, Dr. Theol. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 267. Price 8s. 6d.

1. IN both of these excellent discussions the critical investigations of Dräseke with reference to the genuineness of certain works which have been attributed to Athanasius of

Alexandria are dealt with in a very thorough and satisfactory way. The main conclusions reached by both scholars agree. Dräseke's destructive criticism is shown to be excessive and indiscriminate. The most valuable positive result is a convincing demonstration of the genuineness of *contra gentes* and *de incarnatione*. The importance of having the Athanasian authorship of these treatises put beyond question will be admitted by all students of Patristic theology.

Both Hoss and Stülcken are agreed in rejecting the *Expositio fidei*, the *Epistola ad Antiochenos* and the *Sermo major de fide* as spurious. Both agree that they are of Antiochean origin, and that none of them can have appeared much earlier than A.D. 400, a full generation after the death of Athanasius. The spuriousness of the so-called *Fourth Discourse against the Arians* and the two books against Apollinarius is also proved convincingly by both. As to the *De Incarnatione et contra Arianos*, Hoss thinks that he can prove it spurious, while Stülcken thinks he can only describe it as dubious, but as certainly belonging to the Fourth Century.

The summing up of Hoss as to the result of the discussion, with regard to the literary history of Athanasius, will suitably describe Stülcken's results as well. While Athanasius gains possession of some literary works which were doubtful before, he loses some that were confidently ascribed to him; but what remains to him as a sure possession is amply sufficient to enable us to form a picture of his personality, his significance as a party leader, as a theologian, and as a writer, and this picture has the advantage over earlier portraits that it is clearer and more consistent. In both these treatises, but especially in that of Stülcken, we have very valuable discussions on the doctrinal, and particularly the christological, views of Athanasius. The discussions as to the genuineness of the writings ascribed to Athanasius are intended to prepare the way for the determining of the characteristic doctrines of this notable champion of the Nicene faith, which he had done so much to formulate.

2. While large attention has been given to the Christian literature in the Syrian, and even in the Ethiopic and Coptic languages, little has been done in the way of bringing into notice the stores of similar literature in the Arabic language. The Syrian and Ethiopian Didaskalia, the Syrian and Ethiopian Canons of the Apostles, have been published, but not the Arabian versions of these works. One reason for this is that the Syrian, Ethiopian and Coptic literature is purely Christian, beginning only with the Christian era, and as such has attracted the attention of Christian scholars ; whereas the Arabian literature is partly Mohammedan, and the study of Arabic has been closely associated with that of Islam. Herr Riedel has done an important service to historical, and especially to literary historical, theology, by his collection and translation of early Christian documents as they appear in Arabic versions. These renderings came to be made in the Egyptian Church after the Coptic Church had lost its political significance, and when the supremacy of the Arabs had been established throughout the land. The *Theological Encyclopædia* of Abū 'l Barakāt, with an account and summary of which the collection opens, shows that this old Christian Arabian literature embraced all departments of theology, translations of commentaries on Holy Scripture, legends of the Apostles, a Martyrology or Synaxarion, Church histories, and various dogmatic, liturgical and legal works. It is with documents referring especially to Church law and constitution that the present work deals. In the first part, embracing §§ 3-17, pp. 89-155, we have translations and summaries of certain collections of canons, such as those of Macarius and of the Malakites, Jacobites and Maronites. In the second part, §§ 18-55, pp. 155-310, we have the particular list of canons given in the previously described collections, partly arranged according to the subjects dealt with, partly in chronological order—Apostolic pieces, Canons of Synods recognised by the Greeks down to the Synod of Ephesus, then Canons of Greek Fathers down to Severus of Antioch. Next are given such canons as cannot with confidence be ascribed to any particular author, but are not of

later origin than the end of the tenth century (§§ 41-45), and finally, the Canons of the Alexandrian patriarchate in the times of the Kalifate down to Cyril III. in 1243 (§§ 46-52). The editor suggests that a knowledge of this literature will prove useful to those English, American and German Protestant missionaries who are now working in Egypt, by giving them a clue to many of the peculiar views of the Copts.

3. This is one of the volumes of the well-known *Texte und Untersuchungen*, and as such is the third part of the fifth volume of the new series. The first sixty-nine pages are occupied with the story of the Fragments published by Pfaff as portions of the writings of Irenæus, and then about eighty pages are given to miscellaneous notes on various passages in Patristic documents.

The tract on Pfaff is interesting and easily read. It gives a clear account of the publication of these remarkable Fragments by Pfaff in 1715 and of the controversy that immediately arose as to their genuineness. This controversy Harnack shows is not properly settled yet. The question has occupied the attention of all the most eminent Patristic scholars of the day—Bryennius, Harnack, Zahn, Loofs, Funk—and in one or other direction they all come to different results. According to some all, according to others some, of the Fragments are ungenuine. According to some the doctrinal teaching is Alexandrian, according to others Antiochean, and according to others Asiatic (of Asia Minor). Harnack gives a full text of the Fragments, with notes of parallels, as indicating possible or probable sources. This is followed by a critical examination of the contents of the Fragments. They are not, as some have supposed, of separate origin and authorship, they contain much that is in the style of Irenæus and calculated to suggest him as the writer, but careful investigation brings out statements and views which make it impossible that Irenæus could have written them. The author assumes the Pauline authorship of Hebrews as Irenæus did not. He makes up his paragraphs of centos of

New Testament passages, whereas Irénæus is distinguished for the careful manner in which he makes his quotations. He assumes the present New Testament with the Epistles of James, Jude, Hebrew, 2 Peter, as only an Alexandrian could have done before the fourth century. Hence Harnack concludes that not only are the Fragments not writings of Irénæus, but also that Irénæus' name did not come by accident to be associated with them, but that they are forgeries. The suggestion that the forgery might have been a semi-*bonâ fide* one by an Alexandrian Christian of the third century is discredited by the impossibility of assigning any motive for such proceeding.

A careful examination of the Fragments with Pfaff's notes awakened in Harnack the suspicion that they were a fabrication of Pfaff himself. Certainly Pfaff's own conduct does not impress one favourably. No one but himself ever saw the manuscripts, no one had ever heard of them, the original transcripts of the documents with their contexts were never shown to any. Even the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Turin Library which he is said to have possessed, and which should have contained these Fragments, has never been produced. But apart from these suspicious circumstances, Harnack finds internal evidence in favour of the Pfaffian origin of these paragraphs. He shows in detail, for example, how theological statements in these pretended Irénæan writings have been coloured by controversies and modes of thought prevalent in Pfaff's days, and in a way favourable to the views of Pfaff and his party. A large number of words and phrases, modes of thought, modes of expression, are such as no Greek could ever have used. By a careful examination of the Fragments in detail, this indictment is proved. Harnack concludes with a sketch of Pfaff's career in order to show that he was just the sort of man likely to commit such an offence in order to gain fame. A young man of three and twenty, ambitious in the highest degree, and, though inclined to Pietism and Unionism, yet distinctly "worldly," a tempting opportunity presented itself to him when he obtained access to a library like that of Turin sup-

posed to be rich in manuscript treasures of which nobody knew anything. Altogether the outward history of the man gives occasion for suspicions which confirm the damaging conclusions reached from a study of the documents themselves. There can be little doubt that Harnack is right in characterising the Fragments, not only as forgeries, but as the compositions of Pfaff.

4. This work, which had originally appeared in the Roman Catholic *Quartalschrift für Christliche Alterthumskunde*, is now issued as one of the parts of Von Gebhardt's and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* (N. F. vi., 1). The first part deals with critical questions with reference to the works, and especially the exegetical works, of Titus. It opens with a few pages of biography in which is gathered together all that is known of Titus as bishop and writer from 360 to 378, followed by a summary account of his controversial treatise against the Manichæans. In his Apologetical-polemical work he shows himself pre-eminently a scripture exegete, so much so that a reader of his Anti-Manichæan treatise might confidently expect to find him also the author of commentaries or homilies on holy scripture. As a matter of fact, many fragments of such a work are extant. In chap. iii. (pp. 16-41) a very full account is given of the manuscripts and fortunes of the Pseudo-Titus commentary on Luke, of which a Latin translation was published in 1580 and the Greek text in 1624. It is found to be a compilation of the sixth century, mostly from Cyril of Alexandria, but partly also from Titus himself, Origen, Chrysostom, etc. The fact of this commentary having been so widely ascribed to Titus shows how high his reputation as an exegete must have been; and, indeed, it so happens that the various Catenæ on the Gospel of Luke contain many fragments from the bishop of Bostra. These fragments are discussed in detail, and their genuineness examined in two important chapters of the work before us (pp. 41-108). Our author concludes that the fragments in these Catenæ are mostly genuine, and that the Luke-homilies from which they are taken are the work of Titus. Practical

applications, too, are found in these homilies, as represented by extant fragments, against Manichæism, just such as we might expect from Titus, and which form interesting parallels with passages in his controversial work.

In the second part of the work (pp. 140-249) we have all the Fragments carefully gathered and sifted, and a critical text formed out of what is approved as genuine. The whole treatise is a model of careful editing of cautious and scholarly criticism. A word of praise should also be given to the very full and accurate indices of subjects, manuscripts and Scripture passages, which greatly add to the convenience and usefulness of the volume.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

The Church and its Social Mission.

By John Marshall Lang, D.D., Principal of the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. + 364. Price 6s. net.

THIS volume contains the series of six addresses delivered as the Baird Lecture of the Church of Scotland for 1902. The lecture form, however, is wisely abandoned and the matter is distributed over a series of fifteen chapters. The subject selected is opportune, and the author is in sympathy with the social trend of the thought and the activities of the present day. The book is written, therefore, with the force and warmth that come from a living and hearty interest in the great questions brought under review. It is also clear and popular in its style, and takes us pleasantly and profitably over a very extensive field crowded with matters long and largely debated.

The volume falls into two main divisions occupied respectively and in the main with the past and with the present. The first part, consisting of seven of the fifteen chapters, goes back to our Lord's teaching and the view of the Church and her vocation embodied in it, and proceeds to trace the course taken by the Church in the fulfilment of her mission from the earliest times down to the latter half of the nineteenth century. The second part addresses itself to the condition of things under which we ourselves live, the grave and intricate problems which confront us in every department of our social existence, the answers of very different kinds that have been given them, the various remedies which are offered for the ills of society, and the contribution which the Church has made or ought to make to the settlement of these questions and the cure of these maladies. There is much good and helpful matter in both divisions of the book.

The first part leads naturally up to the second and the interest comes to a point there.

Dr. Lang looks at things from the standpoint of a loyal son of the Church established by law in Scotland and a firm believer in the utility of State Churches generally. But he takes no narrow view of what the Church is. He takes the word "Church" in its least controversial sense, comprehending under it, with Richard Hooker, "Every such politic society of men as did and doth in religion hold that truth which is proper to Christianity". He reviews the history of the spiritual society or Church as thus defined in its aggressive social action. He touches here on a multitude of questions—the collectivism of the primitive Christian community, the contact of Christianity with the Roman Empire, the cause of the persecutions, the position and the achievements of the Church at the period of the Edict of Constantine, its religious and social condition at the beginning of the tenth century, the state of things in the Dark Ages, the climax of the Papacy, the work of the religious orders, the abuse of Monasticism, the awakening of Europe, etc. A brief, but vivid account is also given of the work of the Church of Scotland in particular, the catholicity of the Scottish Reformation, the great ideas contained in the Second Book of Discipline, and the action of the Scottish Church on social life from her first efforts as a Protestant Church till now.

The second part is remarkable for the large body of facts on which its argument proceeds. These are gathered from many different sources, and deal with the wealth of the country, the magnitude of the pauper population, the statistics of Mr. C. Booth, the charity organisations, the prevalence of intemperance, the housing of the poor, the experiments of Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, the Bread and Chartist Riots, etc. A very good sketch is given of the various forms of socialism, and the socialistic movement as a whole is criticised in a very forcible way in respect both of its theoretical basis and the results it has yielded so far as it has been tried.

The book concludes with a clear and telling statement of what the Church is called to do and how her ministry is to

be made effectual in relation to the complex life and accumulating problems of modern society. The closing note is one of hope. The book will be found well worth reading. It is an informing book all through. For the Christian man, and especially for the Christian worker, it has its encouragements as well as its warnings.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Contentio Veritatis: Essays on Constructive Theology.

By Six Oxford Tutors. London: John Murray, 1902. 8vo, pp. ix. + 311. Price 12s. net.

THIS is an important book and one that has much significance. The ability with which it is written is by no means the only thing that commends it to attention. Its great interest lies in the theology which it outlines as the form of Christian thought which will hold the future, and which alone deserves the name of a Constructive Theology suitable to the mental atmosphere in which men now live. In this it is another indication of the changes through which all things are passing, and of the deep and far-reaching effects resulting in the world of religion and faith from the vast transformation of ideas in the world of science, philosophy and history. The essays are the composition of Oxford men, and it is but a little while since Oxford men were conservatives *par excellence* among theologians. Twenty years ago this volume would have created some sensation. Forty years ago it would have set the heather on fire. Now it will be received with equanimity, and perhaps with less attention even than it deserves. It is not a phenomenon like the *Essays and Reviews*. It will not even provoke the excitement stirred by *Lux Mundi*. Yet it is a book that demands serious consideration, and that ought to make an impression not only by the programme which it outlines, but by the qualities of gravity, sincerity, breadth of view, intellectual power, courage and sympathy which distinguish it in almost equal measure.

The essays differ in length. The shorter of them are not the least able. The essay on "The Church," *e.g.*, by Mr. Carlyle, is one of the most candid and scholarly, and contains much in moderate compass. The essay by Mr. Wild, the Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall, on the "Teaching

of Christ," has no special note of distinction, and seems to us to be the least adequate of the series. It gives disproportionate space to the consideration of preliminary questions, and has nothing very original to say. At the same time there is much in it that is informing. The paper on "The Sacraments" by Mr. Inge has several points of interest. For one thing it gives a series of parallels to the Christian Eucharist which are produced from the history and usages of non-Christian races. One wonders, however, at the uncritical readiness with which some of the statements are received. There is another paper by the same hand, on the important subject of the "Person of Christ". It is a competent and fair discussion, looking at things from the Ritschlian view-point, or one not easy to distinguish from that. It reviews the course of opinion on this question of questions, and meets the objections, philosophical and scientific, raised against the possibility of an Incarnation. It concludes that the Humanitarian theories fail, and that "belief in the Divinity of the historical Christ is still an essential part of Christianity". The grounds on which this conclusion is founded are these: the consideration that if Christ did not claim to be the Son of God in a sense peculiar to Himself, the Gospels are made untrustworthy, and the real Jesus is lost to us irrecoverably; the impossibility of consenting to the surrender of His sinlessness; the integral place which His voluntary humiliation has in Christianity, and the connexion in which His most distinctive teaching stands with His personal claims. This is all well put.

The essays by Mr. Burney on "The Permanent Religious Value of the Old Testament," and Mr. Allen on "Modern Criticism and the New Testament," are opportune and helpful contributions. There is nothing very exciting or out of the way in them. But they give excellent summaries of results, and show in a clear and convincing way how a just criticism cannot take from the spiritual worth of Scripture, but will make it more certain, and bring it home more clearly to the intelligence. These are essays which

ought to relieve perplexed minds and encourage faith. The most outstanding essay is the opening one by Dr. Rashdall on "The Ultimate Basis of Theism". It is a congenial subject, and Dr. Rashdall handles it in a conspicuously able fashion. He unfolds the idealistic argument for Theism at some length, analysing it and exhibiting the idea of God which it sustains—the idea of a God *for* whom the world exists, but not of a Creator by whom it is made. He deals next with the argument for Causality, showing for what it is valid and how it supplements the other. Meeting the objections usually urged at this point, he goes on to show how reason leads us to a conception of God which is in harmony with Christ's teaching and with the doctrine of the Trinity. There are many things in this very able essay that will carry assent and stimulate thought, though there are also some things that are left somewhat uncertain. It is a candid and critical re-statement of the idealistic argument, with additions and adjustments. It deals in a very capable way with the question of the Personality of the First Cause, and shows how the idea of a Personal God makes the idea of an Incarnation possible.

On some questions of fundamental importance the volume stops short of what we believe to be the necessary issue. The question of *miracles* is somewhat indeterminately dealt with; but the moral miracle of Christ's sinlessness has a central place, and it is admitted that there may be abnormal degrees of such mental control of natural processes as is seen in every act of will. Another matter of vital moment which seems to be left in some doubt is the value to be attached to the historical character of Christianity and in especial to its historical foundations. The mystical or the intuitional seems to be more than the historical to Mr. Inge. But with whatever measure of reserve or dissent some of the positions advocated may be taken, the book itself is meant to make for faith, a reasonable and enlightened faith, and it should be judged in the light of its obvious and praiseworthy purpose.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

A Dictionary of the Bible.

Dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D.; and, chiefly in the Revision of the Proofs, of A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh; S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; H. B. Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Vol. iv. *Pleromazuzim.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. xi. + 994. Price 28s.

Encyclopædia Biblica.

A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester; and J. Sutherland Black, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*". Vol. iii. L. to P. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902. Pp. xv. + columns 2689-3988. Price 20s. net.

ALL students of the Bible will receive these two volumes with thankfulness. In the case of the second their sense of indebtedness will be tempered, it is true, by other feelings. But in both volumes there is so great a wealth of useful matter that readers of all kinds will find what meets their needs, and specialists in many different lines of inquiry, however strong their dissent from some things may be, will discover in both books much that will at once satisfy them and help them. Further experience of the two dictionaries deepens the impression that the first named is by far the

better and more reliable guide and comes much nearer the idea of what a Bible Dictionary should be. The unhappy peculiarities and ineptitudes which so largely diminished the value of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in its former issues obtrude themselves again in this third volume. There is no abatement of the tendency to disappoint us where we want solid fact and the materials for forming our own judgment of things, and to put us off with a multitude of private opinions and thin speculations which have little or no basis in fact, but are in most cases flimsy and sometimes flippant. This, we are glad to say, does not hold true of the *Encyclopædia* as a whole. It is confined to a certain class of articles and to three or four writers. But there is vastly too much of it, and an examination of this new volume only sharpens the feeling of regret that it is there at all, and that it is there in such measure as to damage very seriously the scientific character of the work.

The publishers of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, the editor, the assistant-editor and the scholars (one of whom, alas! is no more with us) who have given efficient help in counsel and in revision, are to be cordially congratulated on the completion of an undertaking of such magnitude. A supplementary volume is in preparation in which a place will be found for additions, not a few of them of great importance, which suggested themselves as desirable during the progress of the work. But the original scheme has now been overtaken, and the work in that sense is finished. It has been carried out with distinguished ability, unfailing skill, sound judgment, and admirable fidelity to the programme presented to the public when the announcement of the publication was first made.

There are many important articles in this concluding volume of the *Dictionary*, more indeed than we can deal with in any adequate way. The one which will probably be recognised to be the weightiest of all is that on "Prophecy and Prophets". It is by the late Professor A. B. Davidson, whose lamented decease means so great a loss to scholarship and so heavy a sorrow to many friends. This article shows the master-hand

in every paragraph, and makes a contribution of quite unusual value. Other Old Testament topics are handled by different scholars with conspicuous ability. It would be difficult to point to any treatise on the "Psalms" that will match the article by Professor Davison of Handsworth for concise, comprehensive statement and judicious use of the critical faculty. With regard to the question of the authorship of the Psalms, especially those assigned by tradition to David himself, Professor Davison agrees neither with the extremists who deny the Davidic origin of almost all the Psalms, nor with those who claim as many as forty-four for the King. His conclusion is that from ten to twenty, hardly more and possibly less, may be by David himself. Among these he would reckon iii., iv., vii., viii., xv., xviii., xxiii., xxiv., xxxii., and possibly ci., cx. As to Maccabean Psalms he thinks the number cannot be large, but that some such Psalms, *e.g.*, xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii., may have found a place in the Psalter before the Canon was closed. Professor Kennedy's articles on the "Tabernacle" and "Weights and Measures" are noticeable for the great mass of information, gathered from many different quarters, which they furnish, and for the independent way in which the questions are dealt with that are raised with reference to the historical character of the priestly narrative by the silence of the pre-exilic historical books. Count Baudissin's article on "Priests and Levites," Professor Strack's on the "Text of the Old Testament," Professor Bacher's on "Sanhedrin" and "Synagogue," Canon Driver's on the "Confusion of Tongues," Professor Nestle's on the "Septuagint," are all of high quality, and others might easily be named.

The New Testament books are also well handled, *e.g.*, those on the Epistles to the "Thessalonians," to "Timothy," and to "Titus," by Professor Locke, "Romans," by Principal Robertson, and especially "Revelation," by Professor F. C. Porter of Yale. The "Text of the New Testament" has been committed to the hand of Professor Nestle. It deals with the subject at considerable length, and with all the ability one expects from Dr. Nestle, though with an occasional tendency to theorise.

A considerable place is wisely given to matters of Biblical theology. Among the best examples of the kind of treatment proper to such subjects in a *Dictionary*, we may instance the papers on "Propitiation," by Canon Driver, "Predestination," by Professor Warfield, "Psychology," by Professor Laidlaw, "Regeneration," by Professor Bartlet, "Sacrifice," by Professor Paterson (a comprehensive and well-considered statement of the relevant data and the interpretations put upon them), "Salvation, Saviour," by Professor Adams Brown (a full and very instructive paper), etc. Here, too, special attention should be directed to the papers on "Son of God" by Canon Sanday, and "Son of Man" by Canon Driver, than which there is nothing better in the whole volume and nothing more satisfactory elsewhere on these subjects.

Not the least notable contributions to our knowledge will be found in some of the historical articles, especially one by Professor Gwatkin on the "Roman Empire". Nor should we omit to refer to such masterly papers on topics of a different kind as those on "Writing" by Dr. Kenyon, and "Zoroastrianism" by Mr. Moulton. But enough has been said to show that this volume is quite on a level with the former three in interest and in ability, and to warrant us to express the opinion that the book is likely to rank for long as our most valuable Bible Dictionary.

The *Encyclopædia Biblica* also contains many notable and useful articles. There is perhaps none better than that on "Names," an elaborate treatment of the subject under the different headings of Personal Names, Place Names, Divine Names, with detailed discussions on the structure of names, their meaning, their history, the phenomena of borrowed names, etc. It is the joint production of Professors Nöldeke, Buchanan Gray, Kautzsch and Cheyne. The book of "Leviticus" is dealt with by the very competent hand of President Moore of Andover, who also writes ably on "Numbers," "Nature Worship," and "Philistines". The book of "Proverbs" is handled by the late Professor Toy of Harvard, instructively but with little insight. There are excellent articles on the "Nile" by Professor W. M. Müller; the

“Parables” by Professor Jülicher; “Moab” by Professors G. A. Smith, Wellhausen and Cheyne; “Mesopotamia” by Professor Socin and Dr. Winckler; “Palestine” by Messrs. Socin, W. M. Müller, H. H. W. Pearson and A. E. Shipley (a very thorough and adequate article); “Persia” by Professors Tiele and F. Brown; “Passover,” “Pentecost,” etc., by Professor Benzinger; “Poetical Literature” by Professor Duhm.

The late Professor Robertson Smith is represented by articles on such books as “Obadiah,” “Lamentations,” “Psalms,” “Malachi,” and on such subjects as “Nazarite,” “Levites,” “Messiah,” “Priest,” “Proselyte”. These articles are edited and supplemented by different hands. Of their worth it is not necessary to speak. It is more in point to notice the sobriety, the caution and the careful regard to the quantity and quality of presentable facts which make them stand out in striking contrast with a great deal that they are associated with in this volume.

When we turn to a certain class of articles, those subscribed, *e.g.*, by Professor Cheyne, Schmiedel, Usener and van Manen, we are indeed in a different atmosphere. We get into the land of marvels, where the conjuror dwells and waves his wand. His touch brings Paul to the vanishing point, and bids his Epistles be gone, dissolving even the great “quadrilateral” that Baur held impregnable. “With respect to the canonical Pauline Epistles,” we are told, “the later criticism here under consideration has learned to recognise that they are none of them by Paul; neither fourteen, nor thirteen, nor nine or ten, nor seven or eight, nor yet even the four so long ‘universally’ regarded as unassailable. They are all, without distinction, pseudepigraphia.” Here is a sweeping and self-assured pronouncement. On what grounds is it made? On such as these—that in Romans ix.-xi. the rejection of Israel is dealt with “in a manner that cannot be thought to have been possible before the fall of the Jewish State in 70 A.D.”—a wholly mistaken conception of the real tenor of the statement. Or because “we never come upon any trace in tradition of the impression which the supposed letters of

Paul may have made—though, of course, each of them must, if genuine, have produced its own impression upon the Christians at Rome, at Corinth, in Galatia”. But what of Clement of Rome and the use of 1 Corinthians, to mention only one thing? Or again because we can infer from the contents of these epistles that their writers and readers “live in the midst of problems which—most of them at all events—when carefully considered, are seen not to belong to the first twenty or thirty years after the death of Jesus”. But what reason is there for asserting that such difficulties as those about the rise of the Sabbath, the continuing obligation of circumcision, the eating of meats offered in idol temples, and the like, could not have arisen so early as the years 50-65 A.D.? Are not these the difficulties most certain to have arisen at the very earliest period? And what becomes of the Pauline Epistles on van Manen’s theory? Is it more reasonable to take such a letter as that to the Galatians for what it seems *prima facie* to be—a letter coming straight from the heart of the man, instinct with his determination to vindicate his mission, throbbing as it surely does with the sense of a strong individuality, or to take it for a composition elaborately put together long after Paul’s death and sent abroad under his name with a view to certain theological or ecclesiastical objects? But there is little to be got by trying to follow the fancies of extremists of this type. We wish it were possible to say that this is a case that stands by itself. But it is far from being so. There is indeed worse than this. There are things in the articles on “Mary” and the “Nativity” which it is a pain to read. There are also some poor and inadequate articles, such as the one by Dr. Orello Cone on the Epistles of Peter. And there is also King Charles’s head. Our good friends Jerahmeel and the Jerahmeelites are always cropping up, and a place is made for them in the most extraordinary quarters by the help of smart conjecture and fine cutting and carving on the text. To meet them once or twice may be diverting. To have them so often pressed on our notice is fair neither to them nor to us. Let us get away from their scenic forms to something plainer and more substantial.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE May issue of the *Revue Néo-scholastique*, published by the Philosophical Society of Louvain under the direction of D. Mercier, contains informing articles on these subjects among others: Aristotle's idea of the soul and its faculties (by Clodius Piat), the Neo-Thomist Movement, etc., together with a long list of careful book-reviews.

In the *Methodist Review* for May-June we notice the opening paper by President Bashford of the Ohio Wesleyan University on "Prophecy," and an article on the "Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," by Professor W. M. Patton of Yale. There are readable papers also of a different kind, on "Wordsworth," by Dr. James Mudge, "Victor Hugo," by Professor Wilker, and "Robert Louis Stevenson," by Professor E. Mims.

New Testament scholars will read with interest the estimate of the "Literary Work of Joseph Henry Thayer," by Professor C. J. H. Ropes, in the April issue of the *American Journal of Theology*.

The third part of the third volume of the *Teologisk Tidsskrift* contains an important article by Professor C. H. Scharling on "Luther's Theology," on the basis of Köstlin's work.

In the April issue of the *Journal of Theological Studies* the Rev. G. H. Box writes on "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist". He finds "the true Jewish Antecedent" not in the Passover but in the *Kiddush*. The Rev. C. H. Turner has an elaborate discussion of "The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons". He grants that Zosimus and Innocent neither had the instincts of scholars themselves nor consulted scholars before they used the documents. But he concludes that the evidence of history is against the supposition that the Canons were forgeries or that the title given them was meant to deceive.

In the May-June issue of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* we have continuations of two important studies—the one by Jérôme Labourt on “Christianity in the Persian Empire,” and the other by Joseph Turmel on “Augustine’s Doctrine of Original Sin”.

The *Church Quarterly Review* usually makes good reading. The April issue contains the continuation of an interesting paper on “English Coronations”. The New Education Bill is discussed from the Church side, with a very imperfect apprehension of its defects and injustices. There are some extraordinary statements in a paper on “Some Tendencies of Modern Nonconformity,” as, for example, that the publication of Professor Bruce’s article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* “proves how adequately the up-to-date Presbyterian enunciates the Unitarianism of twenty years ago”. It is pleasant to set over against ignorant bursts of this sort the careful paper on the newly discovered fragments of *Ecclesiasticus*, in which the writer pronounces it premature to come to a positive conclusion, but suggests that “much that is set down to imitation may be only part of the common stock of the language, and that the presence of late forms and phrases may often have to be explained as due to glossators and interpolators”.

In the third issue of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* for 1902 M. Neel concludes his series on “Les Conceptions actuelles de Royaume de Dieu,” and C. Bruston contributes a good paper on Suetonius and the Book of Acts—“Le Témoignage de Suétone et le récit du livre des Actes”.

We call special attention to an important paper by Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xxiii., 1, on “Problems in Greek Syntax”. It sums up the results of the studies of many years on the use of the copula, the moods and tenses, the prepositions, the cases, the employment of the Absolute, etc. It contains much that is of moment.

We have also to notice another instalment of W. Muss-Arnolt’s *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (*Assyrian*

—*English—German*),¹ bringing this important and well-conceived contribution to our knowledge of the ancient tongue down to *Sīmtu*; a short and interesting sketch of the career of *Francis E. Clark*,² the founder of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, by W. Knight Chaplin; *Religions of Bible Lands*,³ by D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford, an addition to the series of *Christian Study Manuals* edited by the Rev. R. E. Welsh, a volume giving in very concise form a useful outline of the knowledge we now have of the Semitic Religions, the Religion of Egypt, and that of Persia; *The Creed of an Evangelical Churchman*,⁴ by the Rev. H. Laurence Phillips, curate of St. Paul's Greenwich, a careful unpretentious statement in popular terms of the fundamental doctrines of the evangelical creed, showing considerable acquaintance with the literature of the subject, both ancient and modern; *Ein Original-Dokument aus der Diokletianischen Christenverfolgung*,⁵ an admirable and very acceptable publication which we owe to Professor Adolf Deissmann of Heidelberg, giving the text (together with full information about the history of the document and some acute suggestions as to the readings) of the interesting papyrus which preserves the letter of the presbyter Psenosiris to the presbyter Apollon his "beloved brother in the Lord"; *Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians*, edited by G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D., another volume of *The Century Bible*, done with care and skill,⁶ one of the best of the series, giving brief, useful notes, touching on the main points of interest as far as the limits permit, and finding space also for concise and scholarly statements of the more important questions relating to the

¹ Part 12. Berlin: Reuther u. Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 705-768. Price 5s. net.

² London: Andrew Melrose. Pp. 115. Price 1s. net.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. viii. + 132. Price 1s. net.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 168. Price 5s.

⁵ Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 36. Price 1s. 6d. net.

⁶ Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. Pp. viii. + 192. Price 2s. net, cloth; 3s. net, leather.

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¹ London: Smith Elder & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 270. Price 6s.

² London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 158. Price 4s. 6d.

³ London: Longmans, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 194. Price 2s. 6d. net.

⁴ London: C. H. Kelly, 1901. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 266. Price 2s. 6d.

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¹ Edinburgh: R. W. Hunter, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 319.

² Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. Vol. vii., No. 1. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. 8vo, pp. vii. + 83. Price 3s. net.

³ By Arthur James Mason, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader on Divinity at Cambridge. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. + 170. Price 3s. 6d. net.

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¹ London: Rivingtons, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 318. Price 5s. net.

² Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. 8vo, pp. xv. + 76. Price M.1.60.

³ London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 337. Price 6s. net.

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Recent Work in Egyptology and Assyriology.

THE work of excavation is being pushed forward so rapidly in Egypt, Babylonia and other parts of the ancient Oriental world that it is somewhat difficult to keep pace with it. New and ever more startling results are constantly being announced, discovery treads on the heels of discovery, and the past history of civilised man is being disclosed to us in a way of which we little dreamed but a few years ago. The most striking result has been to re-establish the credit of the traditions which had come down to us from the past. Culture has been proved to be of vast antiquity, and the literary age of mankind has been thrown back for unnumbered centuries. Literary civilisation is immensely old—this is the main conclusion to which archæological research has led us; and literary civilisation implies contemporaneous annals and a trustworthy historical record.

In Egypt, Professor Flinders Petrie has completed his work at the royal tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos, and has occupied the past winter in excavating on the site of the temple of Osiris, which may have been founded before the age of Menes. In the three volumes published by the Egypt Exploration Fund (*The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos*, part i., 1898-99; *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, part ii., 1900-01; *Abydos*, part i., 1902) a detailed account of the work at the tombs is given, illustrated with photographs and drawings of the multitudinous objects found in them. Kings whose very existence had been questioned turn out to have been not only living monarchs of flesh and blood, but to have flourished in an age of high artistic and literary culture, when Egypt was already as fully organised and its civilisation as fully advanced as it was in the days of the Fourth Dynasty. The hieroglyphic system of writing, with its ideographs, its syllabic characters and its

alphabet, was already complete, and a cursive hand had even been developed out of it. When the united monarchy of Upper and Lower Egypt was founded by Menes, Egyptian culture was already old.

The tombs explored by Professor Petrie belong for the most part to the kings of the First and Second Dynasties. Some of the identifications of the royal names proposed by him have recently been disputed by Professor Naville (in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxiv., pp. 105-117) upon philological grounds; it must be remembered, however, that Professor Petrie's arguments are chiefly archæological, and we are at last beginning to learn that historical conclusions cannot be drawn from philology, the province of which lies elsewhere. Those who like myself have been present at the excavations at Hieraconpolis and El-Kab can feel no doubt that Professor Petrie is right in placing Pharaohs like "Nar-mer" before Menes, and archæology equally forces us to see in the royal tomb discovered by M. de Morgan at Nagada the sepulchre of Menes himself. Professor Naville has changed his reasons for rejecting the reading of the name of Menes proposed simultaneously by Professor Maspero and Dr. Borchardt, but his new arguments against it are as unsatisfactory as his old ones even from a purely philological point of view. No archæologist can avoid agreeing with Professor Petrie in placing the Nagada tomb immediately before those of the First Dynasty at Abydos. Its architecture and the objects discovered in it alike prove the fact.

But it is not only the historical age of Menes and his successors which has been lighted up by the results of recent excavation; the prehistoric age of Egypt has also been so fully made known to us that Professor Petrie has succeeded in dividing it into periods distinguished by special forms of art and burial. In *Diospolis Parva* (London, 1901), where an account is given of the excavations conducted by him for the Egypt Exploration Fund in the neighbourhood of Hû, a provisional attempt is made to establish a chronology of the "prehistoric" age by the aid of the pottery and stone vases

that have been disinterred in the neolithic cemeteries of the country. Even the ivories, flint implements and slate "palettes" are found to fall into groups characteristic of the several periods to which the different classes of pottery belong. Once introduced, a type naturally lasted into later stages of development and was only slowly superseded by other forms of art. Counting back from the period of the First Dynasty to that of the earliest neolithic graves, Professor Petrie obtains five well-marked stages or periods numbered 30 to 80 in his scale of "sequence-dates". If we assume an average of four centuries for each of these periods, the oldest "prehistoric" interments would reach back some two thousand years before the time when Menes united the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt under one rule. What relation was borne by the neolithic to the dynastic Egyptian is still uncertain. Certain German scholars maintain that the civilisation of dynastic Egypt developed naturally out of that of the neolithic population. For my own part I believe that the native traditions were right in making the dynastic Egyptians a race of conquerors who brought with them a higher culture and a knowledge of the use of metals and were thus enabled to reduce the native tribes to a state of serfdom. Anthropology has shown that there were at least two races in Egypt, the amalgamation of which produced the Egyptian of history.

There is much to be said in favour of the theory which brings the dynastic Egyptians from Babylonia. Indeed there is one fact which seems practically decisive. This is the use of the seal-cylinder and of clay as a writing material in the early days of the monarchy. Both were out of place in Egypt, which is a land of stone, while the loamy soil, mixed as it is with sand, is eminently unsuitable for writing purposes. Babylonia, on the other hand, was the natural home of the cylinder and the clay tablet. It was a land without stone, where every pebble was precious, and where therefore the gem-cutter's art was cultivated from the first. It was, moreover, an alluvial plain the tenacious clay of which readily received an impression and retained it per-

manently after the clay was dry. The writing materials that were unnatural in Egypt were thus natural and obvious in Babylonia, and accordingly while they disappeared in Egypt before the close of the Old Empire they lasted in Babylonia down to the age of the Arsacid kings.

The Asiatic origin of the civilisation of dynastic Egypt becomes important in view of another fact that is being impressed upon us by archæological research. Egyptian culture, or rather the culture of dynastic Egypt, seems to have no beginning. The art and industries of the Egypt of Menes were as highly advanced as those of the Egypt of Cheops. We find no trace of the beginnings of its system of writing or even of the political and civil organisation of the country. As far back as excavation can carry us, dynastic Egypt is still the Egypt with which our museums have made us familiar. Indeed in some respects the further back we go the higher and more developed its art appears to be, the architecture is more grandiose, the bas-reliefs are more carefully finished, the statuary more lifelike and realistic. The hardest stones are carved into statues of exquisite perfection, and the delicate beauty of the jewellery discovered by Professor Petrie in what he regards as the tomb of the son and successor of Menes is worthy of imitation to-day. Egyptian art and culture seem to spring full-grown into existence like Athena from the head of Zeus.

An illustration of the fact has been afforded by the German excavations last winter at Abusir. Here, midway between Giza and Saqqara, they have found the remains of the temple attached to the pyramid of User-n-Ra of the Fifth Dynasty. The temple was built on a colossal scale and paved with huge blocks of black basalt. The walls were covered with bas-reliefs, the workmanship of which is equal to that of the finest products of the Twelfth Dynasty, while rows of granite columns supported the roof on either side. The columns were carved into the form of groups of four papyri tied together; the form has been made familiar to Egyptian travellers by the temple of Luxor, and has hitherto been supposed to be an invention of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The

supposition, however, turns out to have been due merely to the imperfection of the architectural record, and like most of the negative conclusions of Egyptology to have been the result of our own ignorance. In the days of the Fifth Dynasty the papyriform column had already attained its full development.

Are we, then, to look to Babylonia for the first essays of civilised man ; to that plain of Shinar, in fact, where the book of Genesis and Babylonian tradition placed the earliest cradle of post-diluvian culture ? The Americans who have been working for so many years on the site of Nippur in Northern Babylonia are inclined to answer in the affirmative. If their conclusions can be established, Babylonian civilisation can be traced back to a far earlier epoch than that of dynastic Egypt, and what is more important the earlier and ruder forms out of which the later culture grew, indiscoverable as they are in the valley of the Nile, can be pointed out in Babylonia. The proof of the conclusion is twofold. On the one side it is based on the development of Babylonian art and writing as represented at Nippur ; on the other side on the depth of the *débris* that has accumulated on the site of the great temple of Bel. Midway in the mound of ruins is a platform of bricks stamped with the names of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin, whose date according to Nabonidos was 3,200 years before his own time, that is to say, about B.C. 3800. Below the platform the excavators had to remove nine and a half metres of ruins before they reached the foundations of the temple, while above the platform the period ending with the Christian era was represented by eleven metres. As the *débris* had to be levelled before the brick platform was laid, the American explorers do not seem to be far wrong in estimating that the first builders of the sanctuary lived as much as seven or eight thousand years ago. And even at this remote period the pictorial hieroglyphs out of which the cuneiform characters developed were already assuming their later hieratic or cursive form.

In my forthcoming Gifford Lectures I have given reasons for believing that Nippur was one of the two religious centres from which radiated the primitive culture of Babylonia. The

other centre was Eridu, once the sea-port of the country, but left an inland town by the retreat of the Persian Gulf at least six millennia ago. While the darker side of Babylonian religion emanated from Nippur, its brighter and more humanised side was due to the influence of Eridu. The god of Eridu was the culture-god of Babylonia, and to him was ascribed the elements of art and science and the invention of writing. As he was a god of the water, it may be concluded that maritime trade and intercourse with other peoples had much to do with the development of Babylonian civilisation.

At Nippur a library, calculated to contain 250,000 clay tablets or books, has been discovered, which according to Professor Hilprecht was destroyed and buried underground at the time of the Elamite invasion in the age of Abraham. So far as the tablets have as yet been examined, they appear to relate to all the branches of learning that were studied at the time, and we may expect from them historical revelations of considerable importance. But the work of copying and translating them will necessarily be a long one.

Another library, of more than 30,000 tablets, has been found at Tello, the ancient Lagas, by the French excavator M. de Sarzec, whose untimely death last year is a grievous loss to science. The Tello tablets, however, consist for the most part of deeds and similar legal documents, inventories of goods, and stewards' accounts. Among them are plans of houses and estates, but little of a directly historical nature. But they throw a good deal of light on the social and economical history of Babylonia about B.C. 2700, the period to which most of them belong, and the dates attached to many of them are valuable for chronological purposes.

It is from the ancient Elam, however, that our chief historical surprise has come. Here M. de Morgan, the late Director of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, has been working systematically at the mounds of Susa, and disinterring the remains of the city that stood there before the days of Cyrus and Darius. The results of his work are embodied in the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (Paris, Leroux, 1900-1), of

which three volumes have appeared and three more are promised. The two volumes containing the inscriptions found by the excavator have been ably edited by Dr. Scheil. It turns out that Susa was originally a Babylonian city, governed by a satrap who owed allegiance to the imperial Babylonian government. It was not till a comparatively late epoch, when the Babylonian power was beginning to decay, that non-Semitic princes from Anzan gained possession of Susa and its territory and founded the kingdom of Elam. Babylonia, however, continued to claim suzerainty over its old province, and from time to time when Babylonia was in the hands of a strong ruler the claim was made good. Thus monuments have been found there of Khammurabi or Ammurapi, called Amraphel in the book of Genesis, as well as of several kings of the later Kassite dynasty. The ethnographical table in the tenth chapter of Genesis is right, after all, in making Elam a son of Shem.

While the Americans have been exploring Nippur and the French have been disinterring Tello and Susa, the Germans have also entered the field of excavation. Their principal work has been on the site of Babylon. Here they have discovered the palace of Nebuchadrezzar, which proves to be represented by the mound of El-Qasr "the Palace," as well as the great street along which the religious processions made their way to the temple of the god. The street was raised and paved with blocks of stone, bordered on either side by walls of glazed tiles on which lions and rosettes were painted. The Persian kings are thus shown to have only followed a Babylonian model in adorning their palaces with encaustic tiles. The explorers claim further to have discovered Ê-Sagila, the temple of Bel-Merodach, in the *tel* of 'Amrân ibn-'Ali to the south of El-Qasr. Dr. von Bissing, however, in a recent communication to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (27th June, 1902), has given reasons for questioning the claim until it can be substantiated by monumental evidence: the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar seem to place the great sanctuary of Bel to the north rather than to the south of the palace, and nothing has as yet been found which obliges us to

identify the mound of 'Amrân with its site. In another group of mounds, usually known as Jumjuma, from which the famous tablets of the Egibi "banking-firm" were obtained, some four hundred tablets have been disinterred, one of which contains a litany in Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian which was chanted by the priests in honour of Merodach on the 11th day of Nisan when the image of the god was transferred from Borsippa to Babylon. In the same spot a temple of Nin-ip has been brought to light, with a long record of its restoration by Nabopolassar shortly after his successful revolt from Assyria. In this he describes himself as the "son of a nobody," "the little one who was not regarded among the people". Jumjuma represents the quarter of Babylon called Su-anna. While still continuing their work at Babylon, the German expedition is now preparing to extend its excavations to Abû Hatab and Fâra in Southern Babylonia. A new American expedition, moreover, under Dr. Banks, is about to attack the ruins of Kutha at Tell Ibrâhîm.

The work of excavation, in which England once took a leading part, has thus been handed over to other nations. English scholars have to content themselves with the results of French, American and German discovery, or with fresh gleanings from the rich harvest of tablets which have been brought to the British Museum in former years. While Professor Harper in America is going on steadily with the publication of his *Assyrian Letters* from the library of Nineveh, an English Assyriologist, the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, has been bringing out a truly monumental work on *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co., 1898-1901). The work has been executed with a conscientious thoroughness which will prevent its ever being done a second time; it is difficult to find any point arising out of the texts, most of which are here published for the first time, which is not fully discussed. The texts naturally throw a large amount of light on the commercial and economical history of Assyria in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Assyrian law differed in many respects from Babylonian law, and Mr. Johns is doubtless right in

believing that the documents with which he deals do not record private transactions like the majority of similar documents from Babylonia but are connected with the affairs of the royal household. In spite of this, however, they are invaluable for a study of Assyrian law, more especially so far as it related to trading matters, as well as for the chronology of the period to which they belong and the social conditions of the people. Incidentally they cast light also on such subjects as the geography of the Assyrian empire or the proper names of both Assyrians and foreigners. Thus Raman appears in several proper names as the title of a god, proving that the Assyrian Air-god might be called Raman as well as Hadad (*cf.* Zech. xii. 11), and there is a long series of names like Au-bihdi, Au-yanu, Au-idri which make it plain that Au was the name of a divinity. Au-idri (Au-ezer) indicates that the divinity was Syrian, which is borne out by names like Au-Â "Au is Â" parallel to Nusku-Â "Nusku is Â". Au-bihdi so closely resembles the name of the Hamathite king Yau-bihdi as to suggest that Au is but another form of Yau in which scholars have long ago agreed to recognise the Biblical Yahveh. Many of the names found in the tablets are of Syrian or Mesopotamian origin, and Mr. Johns has been enabled by means of them to enrich the Syrian pantheon with the gods Azuzi, Khimuni, Kububi and Sikhur. One interesting document contains the two names Tarkhu-KHAL and Nakhiri which irresistibly remind us of Terah and Nahor, and make it probable that in Terah we have to see the name of the Hittite deity Tarkhu. Imâni-ilu, the Hebrew Immanuel, is also a name which should not be overlooked.

Still more striking are the references to the sacrifice of children by fire. It is one of the penalties denounced upon the violator of a contract, from which we may infer that it was an ancient custom which had passed away from ordinary use and was remembered only as a terror to evil-doers. The actual expression is: "he shall burn his eldest son," "he shall burn his eldest daughter," to "such and such a divinity". In one instance it is added that the daughter shall be burnt

“with two homers of sweet-smelling herbs”. In another case the place of the verb “to burn” is taken by the verb “to bind,” a euphemism similar to the Biblical one of “passing through” the fire. The goddess to whom the child was devoted was usually “the goddess of the desert”.

Another fact to be gathered from the tablets examined by Mr. Johns is that while the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th days of the month “do not show any marked abstinence from secular business,” the reverse is the case with the 19th day, at the end of the seventh week from the first of the preceding month. The rest of the seventh-day Sabbath, therefore, cannot have been strictly enforced in commercial circles, at all events in the age of the second Assyrian empire.

Such are a few out of the many results for which we are indebted to Mr. Johns’ publication of the Assyrian legal documents. Those who wish to know what light they throw on Assyrian metrology and official life must turn to his exhaustive chapters on those subjects. It is seldom that the reader feels inclined to differ from his conclusions. *Ramku*, however, is rather “the pourer out” of libations than “the sprinkled,” and I should slightly modify Mr. Johns’ translation of the technical term *sartu* by giving it the signification of “loss”. The word *arné* (or *arrané*) which he mentions as occurring in lists of furniture is “chests”.

The progress of excavation and research is gradually bringing the whole of the ancient Oriental world within the circle and influence of early Babylonian and Egyptian culture. The marvellous discoveries made by Dr. Evans and the Italian explorers in the “Mykenæan” palaces of Knossos and Phæstos have shown that in the centuries immediately preceding the Mosaic age Krete was a centre of highly developed art and civilisation. The traditions of Heroic Greece have been proved to have had more than a foundation in fact. The culture of classical Hellas turns out to have been little more than a Renaissance like that of the fifteenth century in Europe. It was no sudden up-growth of spontaneous generation; there were not only heroes before Agamemnon, but sculptors and artists before Pheidias and

writing before the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet. Some of the engraved gems found at Knossos are equal to the best products of the gem-cutter's art of classical Greece. We now know also the source of that realistic art which has puzzled the Egyptologist at Tel el-Amarna: the elements of culture which had been given by Egypt to the islands and coasts of the future Greek world came back to the land of their birth in a new and developed shape. One of the most interesting discoveries made by Dr. Evans, however, was among the ruins of the earlier palace of Knossos above which the later "palace of Minos" was built. Here he found the alabaster lid of an Egyptian vase on which were inscribed the names of the Hyksos Pharaoh Khian or Iannas. As a lion bearing the cartouches of the same king has been discovered in Babylonia we may form some idea of the extent of Hyksos power and influence. Close to the alabaster lid the excavators disinterred a seal-cylinder of lapis-lazuli on which Babylonian art is seen passing into what is known as its Hittite phase. But for this and other details the reader must go to Dr. Evans's account of his last year's work in the *Annual of the British School at Athens for 1900-1* (vol. vii.).

Professor Orsi's excavations have brought Mykenæan pottery to light in Sicily, and thus verified the legends which connected Minos with that island. Dr. de Cara's two learned and elaborate volumes, *Gli Hethei-Pelasgi*, ii. and iii. (Rome, 1902), take up this side of the question and essay to show by the help of recent archæological research how the culture of Babylonia and Egypt made its way through Asia Minor and "Mykenæan" Greece to the distant West. The author marshals his facts skilfully and is thoroughly acquainted with the latest results of archæological discovery. He has made it clear that Italy once shared in the civilisation of the "Mykenæan" age and that the old traditions which described its connexion with Greece and the East were based on historical facts. Opinions may differ as to whether he has proved his contention that the Pelasgi of Greek story were the Hittites of Asia Minor and that in these "Hittite-Pelasgians" we must see the race which

brought oriental culture to the prehistoric west. A serious difficulty in the way of the theory is that the age and character of the "Mykenæan" civilisation are widely separated from those of the primitive "Bronze" civilisation of Western Europe, and that it is therefore necessary to assume the existence of two streams of "Hittite-Pelasgian" emigration, one contemporary with the Bronze age and the other with the Mykenæan. But the fact remains that archæology has now proved the extension of "Mykenæan" influences to Italy, if not to Spain, while it is becoming more and more evident that the introduction of the Bronze culture with its practice of burning the dead was coeval with the appearance of a new race upon the scene. The Hittite-Pelasgians of de Cara correspond with the "Alpine" race of Sergi, the brachycephalic "Celts" of the British and French anthropologists.

In Palestine also the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund have brought to light "Mykenæan" remains at Tell es-Sâfi. This indeed is only what we should expect if Tell es-Sâfi is the site of Gath, as is usually supposed. Perhaps, however, the most interesting fact revealed by an examination of the pre-Israelitish pottery of Southern Palestine is the close resemblance of so much of it to the pottery found by M. Chantre among the ruins of the Hittite capitals of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk in Cappadocia. Dr. Belck, the most recent explorer of the latter sites, would assign the date of it to B.C. 2000-1500. The work just begun by Mr. Macalister on the site of Gezer will doubtless cast further light on this and kindred questions. Already the excavations conducted last spring by the Austrian expedition under Dr. Sellin on the site of Taanach have revealed the existence of "pre-Amorite" pottery, proving that the spot was occupied in what were probably neolithic days. If the pottery which characterises the Amorite age of Palestine was brought into the country by the Amorite race these days must have been remote. When Sargon of Akkad made Canaan a province of his empire in B.C. 3800 it was already known to the Babylonians as "the land of the Amorites".

A. H. SAYCE.

The Crown of Science the Incarnation of God in Mankind.

*By A. Morris Stewart, M.A. London: Andrew Melrose, 16
Pilgrim Street, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 221. Price
3s. 6d. net.*

THE author of these studies describes them in his Preface as "an attempt to indicate how one among the many seekers after unity of thought balances the two sides of his religious equation and relates his religious beliefs with those large ideas which are abroad in the secular thought of to-day" (p. x.). Mr. Stewart has familiarised himself with the ideas which modern science, physical and mental, has brought to the front; and by the help of these he succeeds in presenting Christian truth under fresh aspects, and in illustrating strikingly the unity of thought and life that pervades nature and revelation alike. The book is brightly and vividly written, and is interesting and thoughtful throughout. There is a tendency, indeed, observable in all such books, to translate religious ideas into the language of science under the idea that fresh light is thereby thrown on religious truth. But we do not gain much light on the nature of religion by being told that "it establishes nerve connexion between the individual and the centre" (p. 49). Nor are we made to see further into the mystery of evil when we think of it "in its secret beginnings in that suborganic stage, in which it opposes God in the rhythm of the impulses that come from the Will" (p. 25). And when we are assured that the "key to Instinct is the passivity with which it receives its quota of omniscience" (p. 35), we do not seem to be much further on in the understanding of that mysterious faculty. Such things as these occur here and there in the book, but they do not lessen our appreciation of the vigour and freshness of the

thinking and of the valuable contribution it makes to our knowledge of the subjects of which it treats.

Mr. Stewart's book reminds us a good deal of the work of the late Professor Drummond. He has approached Christianity through much the same discipline of mind. There is the same desire to find in the Christian scheme a further unfolding of ideas that science teaches, and the same aptness in presenting the truths of religion as the solution of problems that are raised by scientific thought. In the following passage many will detect an echo of a favourite thought of Drummond's: "The message of the Christ to-day is, that the Power of the Spirit of God is in the world, and is the present force which impels Humanity along the predestined path of its upward Evolution. Perhaps the Christian world, which seems to have moved far from its old place and attitude of Penitence for sin is just making ready for a new sense of need of the power of God, and a new understanding of its methods, and a new appreciation of its gift" (p. 117). In illustration of this he refers in his interesting chapter on the "New Heredity" to the dominance in the modern mind of the conception of Inevitable law, that may become the basis of a new sense of need of the Power of the Christ that "meets men in that level of their nature where habit rules" (p. 122).

In his suggestive chapter on the "Familiar Spirit of God," the author makes a happy use of that conception of a subliminal region of the mind on which modern psychology insists, the idea that there are "layers in our mental and moral character, and while we are only conscious of the topmost ones, others which are underneath may be a true part of ourself, even while we are not aware of them" (p. 106). He applies this view to the explanation of the whole subject of spirit-possession in the New Testament, and in particular to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, in a way that will be found helpful.

The chapter entitled "The Higher Biology" is of special interest. In it he brings the modern views on cell-life into relation with St. Paul's doctrine of the Church as an

organism. "If the apostle," he says, "had had the acquaintance of modern biology, with cells and protozoans, he would have seen the place of the individual Christian in the body of Christ as corresponding to that of the minute cell which is at the foundation of the human frame; living with the life of God, informed by His wisdom for humble but necessary tasks, surrendering independence of individuality in order to subserve the interests of the whole" (p. 153).

From what has been said it will appear that we have here a book thoroughly modern in its spirit and scope, a book that is not only interesting but most profitable reading. There is not a dull sentence in it, and it will be found most helpful to those who feel, as the author does, the intellectual necessity for correlating the ideas of science with the facts and truths of the spiritual life.

D. SOMERVILLE.

The Evolution of the English Bible. By W. H. HOARE, late of Balliol College, Oxford. Second Edition, Revised and Corrected throughout, and including Bibliography, with Portraits and Specimen Pages from Old Bibles. London: John Murray, 1902. Large Cr. 8vo, pp. 368. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. H. W. Hoare, late of Balliol College, Oxford, gives us a volume on *The Evolution of the English Bible*. It is described as "an historical sketch of the successive Versions from 1382 to 1885". It is admirably printed, and is furnished also with some very good portraits and specimen pages from old Bibles. As frontispiece we have a striking portrait of John Wycliffe from an engraving by C. White. The book does not profess to be a critical history. It is a sketch of the story of the English Bible, giving in modest limits a general account of the various versions of our national Bible "with their historical setting". It endeavours at the same time so to "bring the history of the versions into relation with the main current of events as to associate the story of the national Bible with the story of the national life". The writer follows in the main Westcott and Eadie, and has succeeded in producing a very readable book that should meet a want long felt. In a series of well constructed chapters, he deals in succession with Mediæval England and the Bible, The Bible and Scholasticism, Wycliffe and the Bibles of the Fourteenth Century, William Tyndale and his Work, the Coverdale, Matthew, and Great Bibles, the Genevan, Bishops' and Douai Bibles, the Authorised Version, and the work of Revision. The whole is preceded by a very useful Chronological Table which gives the various events with their dates from the founding of Iona by St. Columba in 563 to the death of Shakespeare in 1616. A tabular view of the evolution of our English Bible is also given on a separate page.

Mr. Hoare's idea is an excellent one—to deal with the

story of our Bible as an integral part of our national history. He works out this idea, too, in a way that is generally interesting and effective. His sketches of men like Wycliffe, Coverdale, Tyndale, as well as of Biscop, Bede and others are well done. The same may be said of the brief accounts which he gives of the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Rushworth Gospels, the old prose Psalters, the Roman Catholic "Douai Bible," the Rheims-Douai New Testament, etc. He makes also some good remarks on the over-refinements of the Revised Version as well as on its conspicuous merits. He can also speak justly and appreciatively of Calvin, "the Saviour of Geneva," as Geneva was "the Saviour of the Reformation"; and of the small city-state in which, as he expresses it, "men saw the visible and active embodiment of a conviction which lay deep down in many a thoughtful mind; the conviction that there might subsist a political community without the Empire, and a Church of Christ without the Papacy".

On the other hand Mr. Hoare occasionally travels into regions not quite familiar to him. This is the case with parts of the chapter on Mediæval England, with what is said of Scholasticism; and with some occasional statements on the earlier translations. The Psalter, *e.g.*, which is described as by William of Shoreham, cannot now be so certainly attributed to that hand. Mr. Hoare also lets his style sometimes run away with him and become almost turgid. These, however, are comparatively small faults. The book is written with a real enthusiasm for the subject. It brings together a considerable mass of interesting matter, and it sets it out in a telling, instructive, and popular manner. Those into whose hands it comes—and we hope these will be many—will have their interest in the story of the English Bible deepened, and their appreciation of what it has been to the English people heightened. The volume has reached its second edition in a very short time, and in this revised issue it should be more welcome and more useful.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Twentieth Century New Testament. A Translation into Modern English made from the Original Greek. London: Horace Marshall & Son; New York and Chicago: The Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 513.

Now that it is completed, this attempt to render the Greek New Testament into the English that now prevails, and to translate its ideas in terms of modern ways of thinking, makes a good impression. It follows the text of Westcott and Hort. It gives measures and coins as far as possible in their English equivalents, while it wisely declines to interfere with the forms of proper names and places with which we have been made familiar by the Authorised version and the Revised. The translators have been somewhat puzzled as to the best course to pursue in arranging the books. They have decided on retaining the usual grouping, but with the important qualification that within the groups the writings are placed in the chronological order which is most in favour with expert scholars. So the New Testament begins with Mark's Gospel. The Pauline letters to churches are arranged in the order of Thessalonians, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians. The general letters are made to include Hebrews as the first in order, and after it James, 1 John, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude. Philemon, 2 John and 3 John form a separate group of personal letters, and the Apocalypse comes last. Generally speaking, the rendering is free and popular, and suitable for the purpose in view. It seldom offends either against taste or against the real sense of the original. It has a tendency, however, which is natural in the circumstances, to adopt neutral or vague terms. On the very first page, *e.g.*, the translation "a baptism upon repentance *for* forgiveness of sins," by using the word "for" misses or obscures the real relation expressed between the baptism and the forgiveness. In Matt. xxv. 46 and elsewhere, the vexed term *aionios* is disposed of as = *enduring*. In 1 Peter iii. 19 a "then" is inserted ("His body died, but His spirit rose to new life, and it was then that He went," etc.), which goes beyond the professed

object of the translation, and commits the reader to a particular view of the exegesis. So the great Pauline phrase "in Christ" (e.g., in Eph. i. 4) becomes "in the person of Christ". But the work, as a whole, is done with a large measure of success. It keeps a safe course between a pedantic literalism and a loose paraphrase, and brings many of the great passages, especially those of a doctrinal import, nearer the common understanding of English readers of the present day.

Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament. Bearbeitet von Professor Dr. H. J. HOLTZMANN in Strassburg, etc. Erster Band. Dritte gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Erste Abtheilung. Die Synoptiker, bearbeitet von H. J. HOLTZMANN. Zweite Hälfte. Die Evangelien nach Matthäus und Lucas, Titelvogen und Sachregister enthaltend. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. Large 8vo, pp. xviii. + 428. Price of the volume on the Synoptics, M.6, during the issue of the third edition; separately M.7.

Professor Holtzmann's commentary on the Synoptical Gospels has been prepared mainly on the basis of his academic lectures. Its form has naturally been influenced somewhat by this. It gives some place in particular to notes dealing with matters of antiquarian interest, with questions of textual criticism, with points belonging to lexicography, etc. To most readers this will be an advantage. The present edition differs from former issues in giving more of the details of the exegesis, and also in adopting a new arrangement of the matter. The plan of attempting to construct an inclusive commentary taking the three Gospels in one view is given up, and we get now three commentaries, dealing with Mark, Matthew and Luke separately and in succession. Mark has been handled at considerable length in the first part, and the work is completed by the publication of Matthew and Luke in the second part. On this follows the exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, which book was embraced within the scope of the first volume of the *Hand-Commentar*. The text followed is Tischendorf's

last, as it appears in the Tauchnitz issue edited by O. v. Gebhardt. All care has been taken to work in the results of the most recent literature on these Gospels, so far as is possible under the limitations of the *Hand-Commentar*. But it has not been possible to give much attention to the questions regarding Semitic originals or models, the practicability of translating the words of our Lord back into Hebrew or Aramaic, etc., which have been raised by Wellhausen, Resch, Meyer, Dalman, Nestle, Zahn and others. Professor Holtzmann wisely contents himself with the exposition of the Greek text which does exist and can be handled, and does not attempt to deal with a Semitic text which no one has seen. He indicates that his own opinion, however, is that in all probability the collection of Aramaic Logia to which antiquity bears witness in the case of Matthew was known to the Synoptists in a Greek version. Professor Holtzmann's volume should be more useful than ever in this new form.

Addresses on the Acts of the Apostles. By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Pp. xx.+669. Price 21s. net.

Some time ago the representatives of the late Archbishop Benson published a volume by him on *The Apocalypse*,¹ which he had hoped to finish after the completion of his book on *Cyprian*. In that volume the results of an almost life-long study of the Revelation of St. John were given. It was not intended to be more than an introductory study, but it dealt at considerable length with the structure of the Apocalypse and the fundamental principles of its interpretation. There were some things in it that were fanciful and somewhat apart from historical exegesis, but there was also much suggestive and fruitful matter in it of various kinds. It furnished a careful translation, bestowed much attention on the form of the book and the relations in which the most

¹ London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Large Cr. 8vo, pp. xx.+177. Price 8s. 6d. net.

characteristic parts stood to each other, and gave a series of essays on the framework of the Apocalypse, its peculiarities in grammar, etc. The present volume on Acts is of a different order. It consists of a series of popular addresses, which were never fully written out, but were delivered from notes in an easy, colloquial style. There are seven groups of addresses. Of these fifteen are given to the Church of Jerusalem, five to the Conversion of St. Paul, seven to the Acts of Peter, six to the Building up of the Church, ten to Christ and the Great Towns, six to the Journey to Jerusalem, and seven to the Journey from Jerusalem to Rome. They do not grapple very firmly with the difficult problems of the book. They speak with a divided voice even of such questions as demoniacal possession, the case of the Pythoness, etc., and they are sometimes quite naïve in their Churchly spirit. They are addresses very suitable, however, for the occasions and the audience, and they contain many wise and edifying observations. The volume is a large and sumptuous one, beautifully printed, with wide margins, and having a running analysis on the side of the page.

Old Testament History. By G. WOOSUNG WADE, D.D.,
Lecturer in Hebrew at St. David's College, Lampeter.
London: Methuen & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 532.
Price 6s.

A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period. By R.
L. OTTLEY, Rector of Winterbourne Bassett, Wiltshire;
sometime Student of Christ Church and Fellow of Magda-
len College, Oxford. Cambridge: University Press,
1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 324. Price 5s.

These are two volumes on the same subject, differing somewhat in scope and treatment, but each useful in its own way. Both are written from the critical standpoint, and in the spirit of the newer learning, and both supply, though not quite in the same way, the kind of history that has been needed for some time for two great classes of readers.

Dr. Wade's book is an excellent book for students. It goes more into scholarly detail than the other, and attempts

a larger, fuller presentation of the history. There is a good Introduction in which a critical account is given of the Old Testament writings—their origin, character, purpose, and their worth as authorities. There are valuable Appendices, dealing with the analysis of the Pentateuch, the Moabite stone, weights and measures, names and order of the months. There are also some good maps. The history proper is prefaced by an interesting chapter on the pre-historic period, which gives a summary of the results both of modern science and of recent inquiry into the legendary lore of ancient peoples as bearing upon the opening chapters of Genesis and the foundations of Hebrew history. The Patriarchal period, the Exodus, the Mosaic age, the Judges, the Monarchy, the Return from the Exile, are then taken up in succession, the story of each being well told, its sources stated, and the contested points discussed with much care. Instructive chapters are introduced from point to point on the state of religion in the several periods, which add much to the value of the book. There is also a considerable body of useful notes, illustrating and elucidating the history. The whole is done in a reverent spirit and with welcome sobriety. There is no attempt either at fine writing or at dashing speculation. The subject of prophecy is ably handled, the predictive element receiving more attention than it often gets. Questions of the text are judiciously treated, the evidence of the LXX being discreetly used and conjectural emendation being ventured on only when all else fails. The book is very correctly printed. There are some slips, such as Karkor for Karkar on page 338, but they are neither many nor serious. Dr. Wade has given us a good constructive sketch of Old Testament history, which will be of great use to many, and which ought to help the uncertain to understand how the critical reading of the Hebrew records is not inconsistent with faith in the Divine leading of Israel and the Divine authority of Scripture.

Mr. Ottley's volume is less elaborate and complete, and more popular in form. Its chief defect is the lack of any statement of the religious development of the people on the

growth of the religious ideas. It is written, however, in a pointed and attractive style and with considerable pictorial effect. It has the qualities which should win for it many readers. It gives the history in large and vivid outline, true to fact, as we now read the records, and entirely appropriate to the object in view.

Roman Law and History in the New Testament. By the Rev. SEPTIMUS BUSS, LL.B., Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes, London, E.C. London: Rivingtons, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 480. Price 6s. net.

Mr. Buss distributes his matter over four books, which bear these titles—*The Gospels, The Acts, The Trial of St. Paul, Later Events*. The reasons for this scheme of arrangement are not very obvious, but a great deal of information is given nevertheless in a handy and usable form, beginning with what is suggested by "Herod and the Nativity" and ending with "Titus and Jerusalem," "Domitian and Patmos," and a collection of the Latinisms which occur in the Greek New Testament. The volume has evidently been compiled with much pains and patience and with an anxious desire to secure accuracy and completeness. But it is defective in some important respects. It relies too much on authorities that are now somewhat old and require to be brought up to date. In dealing with the question of the Nativity, for example, no account is taken of Professor Ramsay's *Was Christ born in Bethlehem?* Only one or two of the more recent books on St. Paul are noticed, nor is there any evidence of acquaintance with Mommsen, Schürer, and other authorities of the first rank.

The Bible: Its Meaning and Supremacy. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury. Second edition: re-issue. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. xv. + 335. Price 6s. net.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1897, and was noticed at the time in this journal.¹ It was reprinted that same year. It is issued now in a new and cheaper edition.

¹ Vol. vii., p. 369.

It deals in an eloquent way with the general features of the Bible—its variety and unity, its non-homogeneity in its ethics, its antitheses, etc., and also with its difficulties, the misinterpretations to which it has been subject, the untenable methods of exegesis which have been applied to it, the things it has suffered by the wresting of texts, etc. Dean Farrar writes with a glow and an enthusiasm worthy of his subject. His book does not profess to go into the deeper and more serious questions connected with the growth of the Bible, the relation of one part to another, the function of the whole. But it will be useful in commending the broad claims of Scripture, in reminding us of what men have owed to it from age to age, and in dispelling some mistaken conceptions of its character and its purpose.

The Christian's Great Interest. By WILLIAM GUTHRIE.
London: Andrew Melrose, 1901. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 251.
Price 2s. 6d.

Mr. Smellie has done well to include this book in the series of *Books for the Heart* which he edits. In an instructive introduction he speaks of the period of the Second Reformation as a time in which Scotland was "rich in great and deep thinking men," and justly claims for Guthrie a conspicuous place among them "in virtue both of his intellectual gifts and of his spiritual endowment". He has himself a great regard for the book. "From its opening to its ending," he says, "the little book is fashioned of the fine gold of the heavenly country; and its value is not impaired, nor its lustre dimmed, because two centuries and a half have gone past since the cunning hand and the gracious heart of the craftsman moulded it into shape." He has taken advantage of the assistance of others well versed in the history and the literature of Guthrie's time, and has carefully collated no less than twenty-six editions of the treatise which were put at his disposal. He has done his work lovingly and faithfully, sparing no pains in the preparation of this admirable and attractive edition. In this tasteful form the volume should win many readers.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

1. The Minor Prophets.

*By Rev. John Adams, B.D., Inverkeilor. Bible Class Primers.
Edited by Principal Salmond, D.D. Pp. 111. Price 6d.*

2. The Great Saints of the Bible.

*By Louis Albert Banks, D.D. London: C. H. Kelly.
Pp. 351. Price 5s.*

3. The Grammar of Prophecy.

*By Canon Girdlestone, formerly Principal of Wycliffe Hall.
London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, H.M. Printers. Bible
Student's Library. Pp. 192. Price 6s.*

4. Papal Aims and Papal Claims.

*By E. Garnet Man. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.
Pp. 299. Price 5s. net.*

5. Vision and Authority.

*By Rev. John Oman, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
Pp. 344. Price 7s. 6d.*

6. Redemption According to the Eternal Purpose.

By the Rev. W. Shirley. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 363.

1. This is an excellent addition to the series of Bible Class Primers. Mr. Adams has more than justified his selection for dealing with the Minor Prophets. The background is sketched in well for the prophets and their work. There is movement in the story. The stream runs clear. Illustrative matter is judiciously used and is always interesting. Hosea in particular, as the most delicate portion of his

subject, is wisely and skilfully treated. It is in fact just the kind of handbook one would wish in going over the period with a Bible Class.

2. It is a long time surely since sermons like these were given to the world. Who looks in a volume of sermons for a catching of the breath, ripples of laughter, the welling up of tears, the quick sympathy with intense moral purpose? There is uncommon humour, unconventionality, and spiritual directness withal in these discourses. A sprinkling of Americanisms may not please the classic taste; the American manner too is often apparent; but it is difficult to imagine that the reality and freshness of parallel and illustration can fail in interest and even admiration. For a publication like this to make the reviewer of them long to go and preach sermons virile and fearless and timely as these, and at any rate to set to work and do one's best, is perhaps the most significant commendation one can pass upon the volume. Some of the sermon headings may be mentioned: "The Pioneer Saint"; "The First Man Who Thwarted Death"; "A Saint with a Crooked Past"; "The Second Violin"; "The Five Wise Virgins of the Old Testament"; "The Man He Might Have Been"; "A Bright Man Who Needed Making Over"; "A Politician Who Lost His Infidelity"; "The Power House of the Soul".

If the companion, *Great Sinners of the Bible*, is at all equal to the present work, then there are two volumes by this author well worth a place on many a minister's table for stimulus to mind and heart.

3. "It is natural that each age and country should see itself figuring largely in history, and the men who are conspicuous in its eyes are looked for in the prophetic page" (p. vii.).

"It is remarkable that none of the names for a prophet signify either prevision or prediction. All rather point to communications from the spirit-world prompting to the utterance of what is felt or seen" (p. 34).

"While dealing with these important subjects, the conviction, entertained for many years, has been deepening in the writer's mind, that prediction is an essential element in revelation and that we lose a great blessing if we disregard it" (p. 171).

The book is written with restraint and ability. It cannot be said however to add to our knowledge or to clear up the situation to any considerable extent. Useful appendices are given of leading dates, of names and subjects, and of texts.

4. The author of this work explains his purpose in these closing sentences. "It is not against the Roman Catholic laity or the hard-working Roman Catholic priest that I write: I number friends in both classes. But it is against that hidden unscrupulous power in the papacy which exploits the charity of the good sisters, the trusting devotion of the laity—the superstition of the ignorant—the Holy Father himself, in furtherance of political ambition and temporal supremacy" (p. 299).

There is much that is excellent in the book; but there is much that is unnecessary. It is unnecessary to reargue all the positions, and make what should be a brochure of the hour a Church history monograph. Some problems have been settled in history and do not demand a fresh discussion at the hand of every controversialist. The result is that in reading the work before us we desiderate the discussion of the modern, present-day issue. This is not altogether overlooked. The present Cardinal Archbishop and the late Professor St. George Mivart are cited and to good controversial purpose. It is the disproportion of the argument that flaws the serviceableness of the work.

5. Mr. Oman has written an able work. The subject is a seasonable one, and it is worthily discussed. The thought is strong and sinewy. The freshness of originality is a pleasure to the reader. In places the discussion is diffuse, somewhat sermoniac in form—may be betraying the original form of the

argument. But the occasional diffuseness is readily forgiven for the strength and freshness of the thought. His parallel between the delicate optic nerve and the faculty of vision has been much commented on; and certainly exception taken to Vision on the ground of its tenuity and precariousness may be aptly met by this parallel. The main divisions of the work are Internal and External Authority; the Church's Creed and her Organisation.

6. This is a re-setting of truth in the light of the evolutionary hypothesis. It is an earnest and sustained discussion. Its aim is fairly expressed in the following sentence: "No attempt to be dogmatic will be made in these pages. If arbitrary lines of demarcation appear to be drawn at any place, it will have been done for the sake of clearness, not in presumption nor pretence of more perfect knowledge" (p. 52).

In the effort at clearness dignity is sometimes sacrificed. "God to the fallen man was as 'Dr. Fell' to the pupil" (p. 254). There is sometimes a precariousness of thought as well as of terms. The author's statement of the Trinity is a case in point (p. 252), where we have more fancifulness than freshness. The author's collocation of the Flood, the Law, and the Incarnate Christ as a triple redemption is suggestive. The book is stimulative even where it provokes to disagreement.

W. B. COOPER.

**1. Das Passah-Mazzoth-Fest, nach seinem Ursprunge,
u.s.w., untersucht.**

*Von Rudolf Schaefer, Lic. Theol. Gütersloh : G. Bertelsmann ;
London : Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. vii. + 348.
Price 5s. 9d. ; bound, 7s. 6d. net.*

**2. Beihefte der Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft, V. :
Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter, in Verbin-
dung mit zwei Homilien aus dem grossen Psalmen-
kommentar des Daniel von Ṣalah, zum ersten Male
herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet.**

*Von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich, Pfarrer der deutschen evangel. Gemeinde
zu Sydenham, London. Giessen : J. Ricker, 1901. 8vo, pp.
xlvii. + 167. Price M.6.50.*

**3. Elohim : eine Studie zur israel. Religions- und Litera-
turgeschichte, nebst Beitrag zur Religionsphilosophie
und einer Pentateuchtabelle.**

*Von Hellmuth Zimmermann, Ph.D. Berlin : Mayer & Müller ;
London : Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 83.
Price 2s. 6d. net.*

4. A Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses.

*By the Rev. R. H. Kennett, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of
Queens' College, Cambridge University Lecturer in Aramaic.
Cambridge : At the University Press, 1901. Small 8vo, pp.
viii. + 104. Price 3s.*

5. Die metrischen Stücke des Buches Jeremia reconstruirt.

*Von Dr. C. H. Cornill, Professor an der Universität, Breslau.
Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs ; London : Williams & Norgate,
1901. Small 8vo, pp. xiii. + 41. Price M.1.50.*

1. The author of *Das Herrenmahl* (1897) intends his present investigation of the *Passah-Mazzoth-Fest* to serve as the basis

of his former work. The Lord's Supper he holds to be unintelligible except from the standpoint of the Passover, and hence the origin, signification, and development of the latter are invested with much importance. He deals first with the question of a pre-Mosaic basis of the Passah-Mazzoth, and then passes on to the Feast as it appears in the Pentateuch: (1) in the Book of the Covenant, (2) in J, (3) in the historical work JE, (4) in D, (5) in P, (6) in H, (7) in Pg, (8) in Ps. He considers that the attempts to discover a nature basis for the Feast have failed, and in general that *the theory of the Graf-Wellhausen school* [is there any justification for such an expression?] is untenable. While assenting to the succession JE, D, P as true to the literary origin of the Pentateuch, he thinks that the dates of these sources should be placed earlier than it is the fashion to do. And he adds quite unnecessarily that the conclusions reached by literary criticism prove nothing as to the age of the Passah-Mazzoth regulations. The merest tyro in the school of Wellhausen could have told us that. The least satisfactory element in Dr. Schaefer's argument is his use of what we believe to be quite illegitimate harmonising methods. But, while we cannot profess to consider him successful in many of his principal contentions, we would warmly commend the book for its laborious, painstaking character, for its freedom from all intentional unfairness to opponents, for the valuable light it throws on various points in the History of Religion, and for the decided help it gives to the understanding of the Passover institution.

2. Dr. G. Diettrich has supplied a felt want by his publication of this Syriac Introduction to the Psalter. The character of the work, and of the MS. from which it is taken (Harris, No. 65, written in the year 1754), are fully described in the preface. The Introduction is by a Monophysite who wrote some time between the tenth and the twelfth century A.D. As is usual with such works, it contains much from Greek writers, like Hippolytus, Athanasius, and Chrysostom, and it treats of the contents of the Psalter, its origin, inspiration (of which the author takes a very mechanical view),

etc. Both the Introduction and the accompanying two Homilies of Daniel of Şalah contain a great deal whose intrinsic value is of little value for the scientific study of Scripture, but whose importance for the history both of dogma and of exegesis is very great. Dr. Diettrich's work will take its place as one of the most valuable contributions to a somewhat obscure department of knowledge.

3. Zimmermann's tractate deals with a subject that is of interest and contains some correct views regarding the development of religious ideas in Israel. We are quite convinced, however, that the author fails entirely to make out his main contention, namely, that *Elohim*, at first an epithet = *θεῖον*, and bestowed indifferently upon Jahweh and other gods, came to be a *nomen proprium* for Israel's God through the activity of a school of glossators. This Elohistic school is supposed to have been still at work on the books of the Old Testament as late as B.C. 300.

4. Mr. Kennett's *Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses* will prove most serviceable to Hebrew students, particularly those who have not yet reached the stage of using the well-known and admirable treatise of Professor Driver on the same subject. Our author explains very clearly and successfully the distinction between the *state* (perfect, *i.e.*, complete, or imperfect) and the *time* of an action, the first of these being the important point to the Hebrew mind. The uses of the perfect and imperfect (including the Cohortative and Jussive) are illustrated by well-chosen examples, and a lucid and logical explanation is given of the sequence of Tenses (Waw consecutive). The uses of the Participle and the Infinitive (both Construct and Absolute) are also carefully examined. We venture to predict a very successful career for Mr. Kennett's treatise.

5. In this little work Dr. Cornill publishes, without notes critical or exegetical, all the passages in Jeremiah which he considers to be metrical. These amount to some 500 distiches,

and are arranged in what our author believes to be the chronological order. The preface explains why the text, which will form the basis of the translation in the *Polychrome Bible*, comes to be published at the present time, and how it is meant to supersede the text already furnished by the same author for the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. The name of Dr. Cornill will secure due attention for this work, especially in view of the fresh interest that has been given to Jeremiah by the recent publication of Duhm's commentary.

J. A. SELBIE.

1. Das Pseudotertullianische Gedicht *Adversus Marcionem*: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur, sowie zur Quellenkritik des Marcionitismus.

Von Lic. Theol. Hans Waitz. Darmstadt: Johannes Waitz, 1901. 8vo, pp. viii. + 158. Price M.5.60.

2. Der christliche Gottesbegriff im Sinne der gegenwärtigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche.

Von Dr. Georg Schnedermann, a. o. Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1901. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 225—499. Price M.3.60.

3. Étude sur les Gesta Martyrum Romains.

Par Albert Dufourcq. Paris: Ancienne Librairie, Thorin et Fils. Large 8vo, pp. viii. + 441. Price Fr.12.50.

4. La Controverse de l'Apostolicité des Églises de France au XIX^e Siècle.

Par A. Houtin. Deuxième Edition, Revue et Augmentée. Paris. A. Fontemoing; Laval: A. Goupil, 1901. 8vo, pp. 136.

1. A Latin poem in five books against Marcion was published by Fabricius in 1564, but unfortunately the one manuscript known to exist from which that edition was printed was soon afterwards lost. We have, therefore, only this printed edition, in which the editor made many corrections where the vocabulary and metre, judged by classical standards, seemed to require it; but later scholars have done what they could to restore the original text. Several critics, among them Harnack, regard Rome as the place of its origin, but Oxé and others, working with a Vatican manuscript of a poem ascribed to one Victorinus, in which large pieces of this Anti-Marcionite poem are incorporated, and from which they have endeavoured to produce a corrected text, have

reached the conclusion, accepted by our author, that not Rome, but Africa, was the place of its origin. Its date is variously assigned by Oxé to the fourth century (from 360 to 380), by Hilgenfeld to the third century, and by Manitius to the fifth or sixth century. After a most elaborate investigation our author comes to the conclusion that it most probably belongs to the third century. He finds that the departures of the writer from the classical *ars poetica* are not greater than we find in Commodian. An examination of the sources which the author of the poem has made use of shows that he was well acquainted with the writings of Virgil, and that of early Christian authors he used the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistle of Barnabas, that he seems to have known the works of Irenæus and Tertullian, and possibly those of Cyprian, but that it cannot be shown that he has used any later Latin literature. After several hypotheses as to the authorship have been discussed, Waitz proceeds to inquire whether Commodian himself may not have been the author. That poet lived in the third century in Africa. Our author quotes passages from the poem against Marcion and from the acknowledged poems of Commodian to show that in both there is the same sort of descriptions of the heathen world, the same views of the Church and its institutions, and generally the same religious and theological attitude. He also shows in detail how their views and their mode of expressing their views about particular doctrines—monotheism, the resurrection, eschatological beliefs, Christological and soteriological theories—are in striking agreement. They use the same sources, show a preference for the same figures of speech, have the same peculiarities of syntax and vocabulary. The conclusion reached is that Commodian is the author of the poem against Marcion, and that as he composed his *Carmen Apologeticum* against Jews and heathens during the Decian persecution, so this poem was composed in the subsequent period, during the second half of the third century.

A careful examination of Herr Waitz's argument enables one to say that he has made out an exceedingly good case

for the conclusion which he reaches. If continued study of the points raised by him confirms this conclusion, we shall have in this poem as a work of Commodian, written soon after the middle of the third century, a most valuable addition to the literature of the Marcionite controversy.

2. This is the second part of a system of theology which the author means to complete in six parts. The first part, consisting of an Introduction, appeared in 1899, and the author expects in a year or two to issue the third part on the World, Man and Sin, which will complete the first of the two volumes of which the work is to consist. In the introductory volume he had dealt with the questions usually discussed in the Prolegomena to a system of theology. In that volume the author had described the subject of his whole treatise as—Our Fellowship with God through Jesus Christ. Starting with this view of his subject, he proceeds to divide the systematic treatise into eight parts: on God, on Man and the World, on Sin, on the Restoration through Christ, on the Appropriation by the Individual Believer of the new Fellowship, on the Appropriation by the Believing Community of the new Fellowship or the Doctrine of the Church (these two latter sections embracing the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, Predestination and the Holy Scriptures), on the Last Things, and finally, on the Holy Trinity.

In the part of the work now before us the author treats of the Christian Doctrine of God according to the view of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of to-day. In his treatment of his subject, he avoids as far as possible the use of technical terms and the scholastic method, and appeals to the cultured members of the Christian Church as his audience. This purpose of aiming at popular treatment has, it would seem, somewhat injuriously affected our author's consideration of the nature of God, and led to the omission of certain points in the discussion which are important scientifically, but whose introduction might militate against the popular effect of the work. In five chapters he deals successively with the fundamental utterances of the Christian consciousness, of the

Christian community, of Holy Scripture, of Jesus Christ and of all these sources combined, with regard to God. In all these chapters popular expression is given to well-known and generally accepted truths, but it cannot be said that anywhere in them we have any very fresh or striking re-statement of the old familiar doctrines. In the last chapter, Dr. Schnedermann undertakes to set forth a full and systematic statement of the doctrine of the nature and attributes of God. The exposition of both of these doctrines is necessarily meagre and ill-proportioned. In many respects, in regard both to excellences and defects, the work in so far as it goes may be compared to Dr. W. N. Clarke's *Outline of Christian Theology*. The work is written in a fine evangelical spirit, and is calculated to be useful to a large circle of readers.

3. This is the eighty-third volume of a series issued under the auspices of the French Ministry of Public Instruction as the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Français d'Athènes et de Rome*. The purpose of the work is carefully described by the author in his preface. His subject is the stories of the Roman martyrs, and he undertakes to determine the characteristics, the causes and the consequences of these legends. He analyses the *Gesta Martyrum* in order to discover their philological and moral character, he then seeks by a critical analysis of the traditions to sift and set forth the particular facts, and finally, to consider the influence these legends have exerted on the ideas, worship, literature and art of successive ages. The work is thus well laid out, and the particulars are treated with great accuracy and in full detail.

Our author describes in a clear and interesting manner the gradual growth of calendars of the martyrs and martyr-ologies. In 598 Gregory I. wrote to Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, describing a calendar of martyrs used in the Church of Rome, containing only the names of martyrs, and the days and places of their martyrdom. The books of martyrs in highest esteem in early times were those of Eusebius and Jerome. Subsequently details giving in-

cidents in the lives, miracles and amplified accounts of the sufferings of the martyrs were added, and this led to successive interpolations for purposes of edification. These redactions of the stories were made after the persecutions were over, and when no longer eye and ear witnesses of the alleged events survived. For the most part the legends date from the Ostro-Gothic period, and lie between the establishment of what is called the Bas-Empire at the death of Theodosius in 395 and the death of Gregory of Tours in 594. This position as to the date of the legends generally is supported by particular inquiries as to the dates of the several traditions (pp. 293-321).

The character of some of the interpolations and redactions enables us easily to trace these changes to their source, and to determine the sect from which they proceeded, and the time and place of their origin. During the fifth and sixth centuries Manichæism spread to an alarming extent in the West. In Africa, Rome and Spain, we find Augustine, Leo the Great and other orthodox champions treating it as a danger which seriously threatened to corrupt the purity of the faith of the Church. The influence of this Manichæan revival is seen in a peculiar colouring given in certain redactions of the legends of the martyrs. Toward the end of the fourth century the traditions about Peter and Paul, and those about the flight of Peter, were re-edited by Manichæans who infused into them their own views. This Manichæan movement within the Christian Church made its appearance in a yet bolder form in legendary apologies of Simon Magus, Basilides, Mani and Montanus. As the redaction of the traditions went on it gave rise to the constructing of new legends. M. Dufourcq gives us specimens of those new fabrications modelled upon the older ones in respect of style and contents. The legend of St. Lucia and St. Gemini-anus may be given as a specimen of the later romancing stories of the sufferings and deaths of martyrs. In the thirteenth year of Diocletian and Maximian an aged Christian woman, named Lucia, was denounced by her son Euprepus and brought before the assessor Gebal. She

refused to sacrifice and was therefore tortured. Her sufferings were avenged by an inundation of the Tiber which destroyed Diocletian's palace. While being led out to punishment, she converts the pagan Geminianus, not far from the tombs of St. John and St. Paul. The executioner Pyrrhopogon is crushed. Finally, Lucia and Geminianus are transported by angels to Sicily, and after other marvelous adventures Lucia dies a natural death, while Geminianus is massacred in attempting to get out of a cavern. After reading such a story, which is a very fair specimen of the average legend, we shall readily agree with M. Dufourcq (p. 75) that the psychology of these traditions is infantine, and that they have a *tendency* character, that a whole world, an infinity, separates the soul of the martyr from that of an ordinary being. He claims, indeed, that what he regards as the *authentic* acts of the martyrs should not be subjected to ordinary historical and literary criticism. One who does this, he says, wants the literary taste and the Christian sense. Such a dictum, however, might be used as a plea for any amount of irrational credulity.

A very interesting and useful part of the work is found in the last four chapters, which deal with the influence of the legends on the ideas and worship of the seventh and eighth centuries, and on literature and art from the eighth to the fifteenth century. The veneration of martyrs had been on the decline, and at last in the beginning of the ninth century Pascal I. transported 2,300 bodies of martyrs to Rome and distributed them as relics among the churches. The legends proved powerless to keep the tradition alive or to prolong the cult of the martyrs at Rome beyond the eighth century. Our author shows what use has been made of these legends in literature, even so recently as by Anatole France, Cardinal Wiseman, and the author of *Quo Vadis*. Interesting details are also given of the influence of the legends on art both in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance.

The whole treatise is most thorough and accurate in its scholarship, and the collection of materials is abundant. No serious student of the subject will be able to dispense with

this work, which easily holds the first place in its own department.

4. M. Houtin tells in an interesting manner the story of the persistent attempts of French priests, and especially of members of the Benedictine order, to rehabilitate the legendary histories of the origin of the churches of France. The various local church histories have sought to establish the local traditions. Some of these are works of enormous size, written in a most pretentious style, with the assumption of a critical method, and with a seeming abundance, if not a superfluity, of historical details. All these writings received the warm approval of the celebrated ultramontane, the Benedictine Gueranger, and are referred to in the most absurdly flattering terms in the French reviews and newspapers in the service of the Pope. Our author shows how all the best and most independent French historical students have disproved and repudiated the legends by means of which the apostolicity of the several churches are sought to be established. Tillemont, Fleury, Dupin, Launoy, Baillet, had all given conclusive evidence in opposition to the traditional views. Notwithstanding these exposures the champions of this legendary history have boldly embarked upon a reactionary movement, and they still continue, with the most extraordinary audacity, to give forth as historical what had over and over again been most convincingly proved to be utter fables. The story of Denys, as Dionysius the Aeropagite, founding the Church of Paris, as a missionary of St. Peter, is retold in all detail, in defiance of all historical evidence, and the writing attributed to the Aeropagite, though long ago conclusively shown to be a forgery, is, with a boldness which in the circumstances can only be called impudence, claimed to be the veritable work of that apostolic man. M. Faillon had maintained that Mary Magdalene was the founder of the churches of Provence, and had described very particularly her journey to and her work in that district; but this story had to be abandoned by later writers of the same school. The author, however, of the history of the origin of

the Church of Mans maintains, on equally weak grounds, that St. Julien, the traditional founder of that Church, had been sent by St. Peter or St. Clement. In his history of the origin of the Church of Angers, M. Chambord maintains that the world received the Christian faith from the mouth of the Apostles and their immediate disciples, and that the diffusion of Christianity and the organisation of the Churches in Gaul can be traced back to the Apostolic times, even to the first century, through St. Trophymus, the disciple of St. Paul. Even in 1900 M. Bellet in replying to a volume of the *Fastes épiscopaux*, published in the previous year, in which historical truth is set forth, repeats unblushingly all the absolutely unfounded legends reported by early unscientific writers. These stories, according to M. Houtin, were accepted in the end of the nineteenth century as the public opinion of Catholic France. In conclusion, however, he expresses his conviction that already truth is beginning to prevail, and that the uncritical reaction shows signs of enfeeblement, and that it is being more and more surely discredited.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

The Varieties of Religious Experience ; a Study in Human Nature.

By William James, LL.D., etc. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. xii. + 534 Price 12s. net.

It is a significant fact that the most recent volume of Gifford Lectures should have come from our foremost psychologist, and that the discussion of "Natural Religion" should have become "A Study in Human Nature". The significance does not lie simply in the entrance of science into a field which philosophy has long regarded as her own. With this we are already familiar through the numerous attempts at an anthropological treatment of religious phenomena which the last generation has produced. To many, these attempts have only a limited value, because of their so frequent reduction of religion to its lowest elements, or accompaniments, in the religion of a savage, and their failure to explain the noblest development of all, the religion of Christ. Professor James' book is to be clearly distinguished from such attempts. His examples are chiefly drawn from Christian experience, and he is concerned with acknowledged types of a high personal piety. The method of study is the same as that of the professed anthropologist, *i.e.*; the patient classification of facts. This method, of course, belongs to the movement of critical thought as a whole, and its reluctance to utter broad generalisations about eternal truth, till the thinker has more closely examined the "narrow bank and shoal of time" on which such truth for us must rest. We must know better what man is, as a religious animal, before we can measure the worth and truth of the religion which lifts him above the animal. But those who know the author's earlier writings do not need to be told that the use of empirical methods has not made him an empiricist. He plunges into the forest of

fact determined to see the wood as well as the trees, and in the conviction that his path will ultimately emerge into the clear daylight. He writes avowedly as a psychologist rather than as a philosopher, and believes "that a large acquaintance with particulars often makes us wiser than the possession of abstract formulas". But there is undoubted philosophic significance in the volume, as the argument of a scientist claiming the freedom of faith from the tyranny of the conclusions of many present-day scientists.

Few men could come to such a task with a better equipment than Professor James, and fewer still would have carried out the analysis of faith's secrets in a spirit so sympathetic with the believer, and so reverent for ultimate truth. That the book is vigorous and fresh and provocative of the liveliest interest goes without saying for those who know anything of the author. The large amount of quotation and condensation from classical autobiography is especially valuable, and will send many to explore for themselves new hills and valleys of religious experience. But beyond lively treatment and interesting matter, we believe this book will have a real value for the thoughtful student of the problems of faith. One may regret that the Gifford bequest has not provided for the cheaper publication of Gifford Lectures, but we do not think that even those to whom the price of a book is an important question will regret the purchase of this.

The value to any reader of a classification of facts will depend on his acceptance of the principle of the classification. How does the classifier approach his facts? The reason for the choice of a particular method of classification is necessarily involved in this approach. We are all suspicious of smoothly written pages which owe their cogency to the undefined prepossessions of the writer. The equation may look well enough till we begin to ask about the unknown x in it. Perhaps we have all sometimes felt the desire to compel our philosophic teachers to stand and deliver the x of their faith in the currency of common usage. What is the x in the case of Professor James? The best statement of it is given in a sentence of Pascal's, quoted by him in his

earlier volume *The Will to Believe* (p. 21), "le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas". This might have stood as a motto on the title-page of the present book. It is a plea for personality. In connection with the author's work on behalf of the Society of Psychical Research, he had already told us (*The Will to Believe*, p. 321), "The result is to make me feel that we all have potentially a 'subliminal' self, which may make at any time irruption into our ordinary lives. At the lowest, it is only the depository of our forgotten memories; at its highest, we do not know what it is." But in another place in the same book (p. 62), he went further, and told us that in this subliminal life is "our deepest organ of communication with the nature of things". The present book is the working out of this thesis. The author considers that the most important advance in psychology in his own time "is the discovery, first made in 1886, that in certain subjects at least, there is not only the consciousness of the ordinary field, with its usual centre and margin, but an addition thereto, in the shape of a set of memories, thoughts and feelings, which are extra-marginal and outside of the primary consciousness altogether, but yet must be classed as conscious facts of some sort, able to reveal their presence by unmistakable signs" (p. 233). To apply this discovery to the psychology of religion is the author's contribution to the subject. In doing this, he claims to be showing us a spiritual doorway into the soul, at which spiritual truth *can* knock; he claims to show, not only the existence of this doorway, but its actual use, by a purely empirical study of the phenomena of religious experience; and he challenges the empiricist to explain in any other way the presence of these phenomena. If to the idealist philosopher these claims seem to take us only a very little way, even should they be granted, one may remember that modesty of claim has not seldom been one of the marks of truth, and that a molehill of truth is better than a mountain of error. Let us look, then, at the actual classification of the facts which results when they are so approached.

The first two lectures deal with necessary points of intro-

duction, and of the definition of the field itself. Religion is defined, for the present purpose, as "the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine" (p. 31). This purely empiricist definition was necessitated by the manner of approach, and must not be taken as expressing the author's own ultimate conclusions. We are warned against prejudice as to the value of any fragment of religious experience, arising from analysis of its psychological origin, or its physiological accompaniment. Existential and value judgments are distinguished, and illustrated by the difference between critical and devotional study of the Bible. From this standpoint, "medical materialism" is shown to be illogical in thinking it has undermined the spiritual authority of, say, Paul, "by calling his vision on the road to Damascus a discharging lesion of the occipital cortex". So with genius. It may be, and often is, pathologically conditioned, but we still admire and value the works of genius. If any one objects to the use Professor James intends to make of abnormal states, he contends—we think rightly, from his standpoint—that these "isolate special factors of the mental life" and enable us the better to study them.

These generalities of introduction are dismissed by the author with an evident feeling of relief as he invites us to tread the firmer ground and enjoy the clearer view of definite fact. These he groups under the following heads: "The Reality of the Unseen," "The Religion of Healthy-mindedness," "The Sick Soul and Divided Self," "Conversion," "Saintliness," "Mysticism". It may be useful to notice as briefly as possible the point of view in each case.

The impression left by the discussion of "The Reality of the Unseen" is not very definite; perhaps this was unavoidable from the nature of the subject, but the section certainly seems less successful than those that follow. The point is that some at least are capable of perceiving the existence of a reality outside themselves, not cognisable by any of the ordinary senses. This experience is convincing to those

who have it. Rationalism, demanding articulate reason for our beliefs, makes its appeal only to the surface of our mental life; "if you have intuitions at all, they come from a deeper level of your nature". The evidence offered ranges from hallucinations to mystical or semi-mystical experiences of a Divine Presence, but no opinion is given at this stage as to the objective truth of the belief created.

The emotional colour of such an experience may vary within wide limits. The second group of phenomena contains those to which the optimistic attitude belongs, and these are classed as "The Religion of Healthy-mindedness". Examples are found in Theodore Parker and Walt Whitman, among others. But the practical expression of this attitude to life is chiefly illustrated from the contemporary mind-cure movement. This is discussed with considerable detail; some will think with a too tolerant sympathy. Professor James regards "mind-cure as primarily a religious movement" (p. 105), and is struck by its psychological similarity to Lutheran and Wesleyan experiences. "It is but giving your little private convulsive self a rest, and finding a greater self is there" (p. 111). From a non-American standpoint, one cannot help thinking that a disproportionate space, *viz.*, 32 pages, is given to the subject of mind-cure. The chief conclusion drawn is "that the world can be handled according to many systems of ideas . . . and will each time give some characteristic kind of profit" (p. 122).

"The Sick Soul" designates him for whom a natural optimism is impossible. The "healthy-minded" attitude may be reached, as by Luther and Molinos, after the evil of the world has been faced. But the thought struggle is severe; the prevalent inmost consciousness is of failure. Phases in the lives of Tolstoy and Bunyan are chosen as types of religious melancholy. The conclusion drawn in this section is "that healthy-mindedness is inadequate as a philosophical doctrine, because the evil facts which it refuses positively to account for are a genuine portion of reality; and they may, after all, be the best key to life's significance, and possibly the only openers of our eyes to the deepest levels of truth".

The unification of a self so divided (*cf.* Augustine) is what Professor James regards as "Conversion". Emphasis is laid on self-surrender as the indispensable element. "One may say that the whole development of Christianity in inwardness has consisted in little more than the greater and greater emphasis attached to this crisis of self-surrender." Instantaneous conversion is, psychologically, the more complete. At this point in his descriptive work, the author offers us his theory of subconscious influences to which reference has already been made. As is expressly stated, this theory does not exclude the operation of the Divine Spirit; what is claimed is that "sudden conversion is connected with the possession of an active subliminal self". A Christian, accepting Professor James' theory, might hold that the Holy Spirit acted on the soul through this subliminal self. The chief importance of the conversion experience is said to consist in its showing to a human being "what the high-water mark of his spiritual capacity is".

Five lectures are devoted to "Saintliness" and its value. These are of the greatest interest, and none is likely to read them without seeing many old truths in a new light. It is, of course, impossible even to mention the various points raised in the discussion of Asceticism, Strength of Soul, Purity and Charity. (The preacher is likely to find suggestive illustrations from the numerous quotations.) In regard to the value of saintliness, the author thinks one ought not to demand from men uniformity of type; there may be "different functions in the organism of humanity allotted to different types of man" (p. 333). "Economically, the saintly group of qualities is indispensable to the world's welfare" (p. 377). The practical conclusion is that we cannot all be saints, but we ought to be if we can.

The last group of experiences to be noticed is of those classed under "Mysticism". The qualities of this state are given as Ineffability, Illumination, Transiency and Passivity. But "consciousness of illumination is for us the essential mark of 'mystical' states" (p. 408, *n.*). Mysticism is the reverse of pessimistic. Mystical states are rightly authorita-

tive for the subject of them, but not for others. They break down the authority of the purely rationalistic consciousness, for "they open out the possibility of other orders of truth" (p. 423). Professor James is evidently inclined to think "that possibility and permission of this sort are all that the religious consciousness requires to live on" (p. 429). One is reminded throughout of the philosophy underlying Browning's *A Death in the Desert* :—

God's gift was that man should conceive of truth
And yearn to catch it, catching at mistake
As midway help till he reach fact indeed.

Considerable space has been given here to the outline of the descriptive part of this book, because this part is central to its purpose and gives it a real value to the reader, whether or not he may accept the author's philosophic point of view. The full treatment of the latter is postponed to another volume, but, meantime, three lectures and a postscript are devoted to the philosophic questions involved. The conclusions must be stated in the briefest possible form, and are already familiar to readers of *The Will to Believe*. The arguments for idealism are reviewed and rejected. We are thrown back on religious experience itself for any real evidence of religious truth. At the same time the author pleads for the reality of the prayer-consciousness, "that *something is transacting*" (p. 465). "In prayer, spiritual energy, which otherwise would slumber, does become active, and spiritual work of some kind is effected really" (p. 477). It is left an open question whether this work is subjective or objective. Religion, if stated in its lowest terms, is an uneasiness and its solution; the sense that "there is something wrong about us" and that "we are saved from the wrongness by making proper connexion with the higher powers".

Professor James offers us, then, the subconscious self as a scientific link between our religious experience and the particular faith each may have in the Power to whom it is ascribed. Here is the essential point of his contribution, in his own words: "Whatever it may be on its *farther* side, the

'more' with which in religious experience we feel ourselves connected, is on its *hither* side the subconscious continuation of our conscious life" (p. 512). The book is therefore a contribution to the psychology of religion rather than to its philosophy or to theology. The scientist might, of course, accept the theory of the subconscious self as the immediate source of the phenomena classified. But he might also refuse to admit that this step further back carried us beyond the limits of the individual. The theologian, on the other hand, might say that Professor James has done what science does in general, when it speaks of secondary causes as primary; and that, in any case, he has only called attention to an unnoticed link in the chain connecting us with God. For he still leaves the question of the reality of God to the answers of personal belief or disbelief, or, as he says himself, to "over-belief," any faith that passes beyond reason. These two obvious criticisms suggest themselves as soon as the purport of the book is grasped. We imagine that the author's reply to them would be something like this: to the empiricist he offers the challenge of the facts themselves, which receive no adequate explanation if supposed to originate in the single life; whilst to the idealist he would readily admit that he had done but little, yet would claim that to show the presence of a pathway by which help (power or grace) *might* come into the soul would be so far presumptive evidence that help *did* so come, for a student seeking to explain the world of religious experiences. To the writer of this review, these contentions seem to be justified. If so, we can sum up the elements in the contribution made to thought by this book, as follows:—

1. *Scientific*.—By the author's clear statement of some of the chief phenomena of religious experience, and by the evidence of these he presents, we are certainly helped towards the attainment of truth. Pure fact we cannot obtain in the realm of psychology; we cannot separate interpretation from the phenomenon recorded. The "challenge of facts" referred to above is, after all, a challenge of interpretation, of more or less put into the facts by Professor James and by an empiricist respectively. The only remedy is for each to scan

facts as closely as possible, and to try to interpret as faithfully as possible ; towards these ends the book certainly helps.

2. *Philosophical*.—So far as we are justified in claiming that this book makes a philosophical contribution at all, it lies in the attempt to meet a naturalistic empiricism by empiricist methods. Every age needs its own method of defending truth or assailing error. It may fairly be claimed that this is a contribution to a new apologetic needed to meet the empiricism of the present day.

3. *Theological*.—Here again we must recognise the limits assigned to his work by the author himself. It would be unfair to criticise the book in whole or in part from the standpoint of particular dogmas or "over-beliefs". We are not helped at all to a theology proper, for we are left practically free to link on to our own subconsciousness any "over-belief" about God we prefer. But, at the same time, the book renders a service to religious truth by confirming our faith in the value of religious experience, and offering us a doorway into the eternal and unseen. Insufficient as it may seem to many, yet so far as it goes it is a helpful and refreshing book, and we do not think any one who is in touch with the thought of the present age can read it without being strengthened in whatever faith he holds as to the reality of God, and of His work in the heart of man.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

**The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles:
Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900-1901.**

*By Frederic Henry Chase, D.D., President of Queen's College,
and Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London:
Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 314. Price 6s.*

THIS course of Hulsean Lectures may be regarded as a most helpful and pleasurable introduction to the Commentary which Dr. Chase is preparing for the International and Critical Series. It not only furnishes us with a strong defence of the traditional authorship of Acts, but it also throws fresh light upon many passages in the text of that book. After duly emphasising the importance of Acts, which stands alone as an authority for a period unique in the religious history of mankind, and after a few cautious words as to the ultimate issue of the controversy about the so-called "Western" text, and as to the value of archæological research, we have an indication of the main points which make for the Lucan authorship, and a very just reminder that counter theories are weighted with far greater improbabilities (p. 9 ff.). The external evidence is briefly summarised, and in connexion with the crucial question as to whether the "We" sections bear marks of identity of authorship with the rest of the book, attention is drawn to the minuteness and care with which Sir John Hawkins in his *Horæ Synopticæ* has investigated this question. In dealing with this subject of language Dr. Chase is not forgetful of another English book, Hobart's *Medical Language of St. Luke*, and he remarks that although it has been published nearly twenty years it has, he believes, remained unnoticed by the assailants of the traditional view of the third Gospel and Acts. The only direct notice of which we are aware is contained in Dr. Schmiedel's recent article "Luke" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iii.,

where he remarks that "a medical language" was discovered by Hobart in the third Gospel and in Acts, but this is all the notice which he vouchsafes, and no attempt whatever is made to gauge the value of Dr. Hobart's argument, which has received the warm endorsement of Dr. Zahn, and still more recently of Dr. Belser, and of Dr. P. Ewald in his article "Lukas der Evangelist" just published in the new edition of Herzog. In his estimation of Hobart's work Dr. Chase is, however, by no means forgetful of the fact, so carefully considered by Dr. Plummer, that many of the "medical terms" may be attributed to St. Luke's acquaintance with the LXX, but he also agrees with Dr. Plummer in the conclusion that, when all deductions have been made, there remains a body of evidence which he does not hesitate to describe as irresistible.

The problem of the "Sources" next engages the reader's attention (p. 14 ff.). And here Dr. Chase again emphasises the fact that the attempt to discover the written documents out of which Acts was thought to have been elaborated has hitherto completely failed. His own experience in the investigation of such an attempt will be read with interest, and he now naturally asks what "sources" are really available? "Can we, with certainty or with real probability, point to St. Luke's having been brought into contact with those whose testimony taken together will cover the whole field of the Acts?" Among these "sources" Dr. Chase has no hesitation in naming St. Paul himself as the most obvious and important witness, and he refers also to the likelihood of information being gathered from John Mark, or St. Philip, or St. Barnabas, whilst he throws out the further interesting suggestion that the writer of Acts may have met and conversed with St. Peter at Rome (p. 22). Here, to a great extent, Dr. Chase follows on the same lines as those indicated by Zahn and Blass, and the fact that these eminent scholars have no hesitation in deferring to such "sources" may well afford matter for the consideration of those critics, who appear to think that every book connected with St. Luke's writings is to be valued by the number of fancy documents which the author can discover in them.

At this point (p. 26) Dr. Chase is brought face to face with the question as to the relation between Acts and St. Paul's Epistles, and he first notices, as Zahn also notices, the important fact that Acts contains no reference to the composition of any of St. Paul's letters, and shows no sign of their influence, a fact which is in itself strong confirmation of an early date. But, at the same time, he is not concerned to deny that there are discrepancies between the Acts and the Epistles, which perhaps cannot be formally and completely reconciled, while their presence may be fairly explained (p. 27). Reference is made, in the succeeding pages, to two other matters of primary interest, before the text of the book is discussed: (1) Acts i. 8 (pp. 29 and 49) contains, in Dr. Chase's view, the aim and plan of the author. (2) St. Luke (unlike a modern historian) concerns himself primarily with men, a point so strikingly elaborated amongst recent writers by Mr. Rackham, and thus notices of time are often perplexingly indistinct—a point noticed with so much care by Dr. Plummer and Professor Ramsay. Even in the *Agricola* of Tacitus we have to wait for the last chapter before any note of chronology is given us.

The fulfilment of our Lord's promise of the Spirit naturally finds a foremost place in a book written with the aim just noticed. Here are two points in Dr. Chase's pages which are undoubtedly open to criticism. First, the contention that the words "they were all together in one place" on the day of Pentecost refer to the Temple. Dr. Chase makes out a strong case, but the more we emphasise the important significance which would attach to the Temple as the place where the supreme gift of the Spirit was given, the more strange it becomes that St. Luke does not mention that the place was the Temple. But a more serious question is raised by Dr. Chase's interpretation of ii. 3. He thinks that the manifestation of fiery shapes in the semblance of tongues diffusing themselves on the heads of the Apostles would be a wonder of a different order from the miracles of the New Testament; it would stand alone (p. 34). No doubt; but "a supreme crisis of revelation," as Dr. Chase himself calls it,

had been reached, and the more notable the crisis, the more notable might be the manifestation. Space forbids us to discuss the subject further, but we may add that a most interesting suggestion is made by Dr. Chase as to the utterances of the Apostles on this birthday of the Christian Church. It may well be that we may picture them, like Zacharias, breaking forth into "benedictions" such as we find in the rich liturgical store of the Jewish Church, as, *e.g.*, in the *Eighteen Benedictions* (p. 29).

The second lecture deals with the expansion of the Church, and the question is raised as to how far the record of this expansion satisfies reasonable tests of truthfulness. On the one hand we have the explicit commands of the Lord as to the ultimate goal of the Gospel; on the other hand we have the fact of the silence of these commands as to the action which the Apostles should take in the immediate future (p. 58). At all events we may say that the Apostles could not have fully understood Christ's commands, for after He had spoken "the things concerning the Kingdom of God," they ask: "Dost thou at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i. 6). The historian then must have either truthfully narrated facts which he had been careful to ascertain, or he must have followed an imagination which had no prophecy or current interpretation to guide it, as these were far too vague and indefinite to be of service. But in St. Peter's first words in Acts Dr. Chase urges that there is nothing to show that his horizon is wider than that of the prophets; he is still preoccupied in the narrow sphere of national hopes: "the promise of the blessing through Abraham's seed to all the world prefaces the assurance 'unto you *first* God having raised up His servant sent him to bless you'". In all this we may note the signs of a true and faithful portraiture. It may be possible, we venture to think, to circumscribe St. Peter's meaning too much, but the argument presented here is full of force, as we shall have occasion again to remark.

Further, the history of the expansion is noteworthy; its apparent casualness, its fragmentariness, afford a strong guarantee of substantial truth; the turning point comes in

a difficulty connected with the charity organisation of the Church; this leads to the clothing of Stephen with the authority of office; he marks indeed a transitional state of things, but it is evident that with his witness and death an inward and an outward change comes over the Church; the disciples are exposed to the hatred not only of the aristocratic and unpopular Sadducees, but also of the party which enjoyed the special reverence of the people (p. 63); and all this stands out in such absolute contrast to the peaceful relations of the first chapters of the book that we find an assurance of the writer's truthfulness in this earliest part of the record.

When, as the result of persecution, the Church is scattered abroad, we have twice mentioned the same word *διεσπάρησαν*, a word Dr. Chase regards as deliberately chosen, to indicate that the regenerate Israel becomes in the providence of God what the unfaithful Israel was meant to become, a Dispersion—among “the nations”. As to the peculiar force of this verb in this connexion, to which Dr. Chase thus directs attention, we may compare the remarks of Dr. Zahn (*Einführung*, i., p. 71).

Again in this dispersion through the sword, in this second period of the Church's history, the marks of credibility are carefully noticed. The Church becomes the Church of Palestine, but not as we might expect by the chief part in the drama being assigned to St. Peter or at least to an Apostle, but to the obscure Philip; to him too is assigned a further and more significant work, the decisive step of baptising, so far as our knowledge goes; the first Gentile Christian, the Ethiopian eunuch.

We must confess to a feeling of disappointment that in a note (p. 67) Dr. Chase should intimate that the words “the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip” (viii. 39), do not imply a miraculous disappearance. The strong verb *ἥρπασεν* is scarcely satisfied by reference to an inward impulse, and as Meyer-Wendt notes, it is a very different form of expression from that in v. 29 of the same chapter.

One other event of unique importance, which falls within this same intermediate period, the conversion of St. Paul,

receives careful, although necessarily brief, treatment, and Dr. Chase may justly refuse to attach any importance to the variations in the three different accounts of the conversion, in face not only of the judgment of Dr. Blass and Professor Ramsay, but of Dr. Holtzmann (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 71, 3rd edition).

The second division of the book closes, ix. 31, with an emphatic and solemn notice of the peace and growth of the Church in Palestine after Saul's conversion, and the third division opens with what Dr. Chase describes as one of the simple commonplace phrases with which St. Luke sometimes hints at an important background of history, ix. 32 (p. 75); the Apostolic College is broken up, the Christian Dispersion needs guidance and help, and so we are now prepared to follow the movements of St. Peter. The significance of St. Peter's work in Joppa and Cæsarea is graphically emphasised, and with the episode of Cornelius the "Acts of Peter" cease just before the work of Paul commences. St. Luke no doubt knew more, as Dr. Chase reminds us, of St. Peter's ministry, but his purpose in writing is not predominantly biographical, or he would have told us more; he is concerned with the expansion of the Church, and St. Peter in admitting under God typical Gentiles into the Church reached the limits of his characteristic work in the Kingdom (p. 86). We may perhaps venture to supplement these remarks with a passage in Professor Ramsay's *St. Paul* (p. 378) where he shows that it is obvious that St. Luke has selected facts which bore, not on the expansion of the Church in its entirety, but "on a narrower theme, *viz.*, the steps by which the Church of Jerusalem grew into the Church of the Empire, and the position of the Church in the Empire. Egypt, Ethiopia, and the East and South are therefore excluded from his narrative."

We have before noticed how keenly Dr. Chase is alive to the scarcity of chronological data in Acts, and this is the case, not only with the scarcity but also with the relative uncertainty of this chronology (see note, p. 67). But, however this may be, no one who carefully peruses these earlier pages

of the book before us and those which follow (p. 81 ff.) can fail to see how clearly Dr. Chase enables us to mark the chief turning points in the development and growth of the Faith.

From Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, we pass to the Syrian Antioch, so soon to become the mother city of Gentile Christendom, and it is but natural that we should ask if that Church was a Gentile Church from the first. Here we come to the only question of textual criticism with which Dr. Chase proposes to trouble us (p. 81).

Are we to read in Acts xi. 20 "*Ἕλληνας* or '*Ἑλληνιστάς*? Certainly the weight of authority seems to be in favour of the latter. But it is urged that "*Ἕλληνας* is alone in harmony with the context as antithetical to the previous '*Ἰουδαῖοι*. This, however, is not necessarily conclusive, for not only is the real turning point in the mission to the Gentiles marked later, in xiii. 46, but it is possible that the word '*Ἰουδαῖοι* may be used in a narrow sense exclusive of Hellenists, as in other passages of the book, and this would be quite consistent with the retention of *καί* "unto the Grecian Jews *also*". Dr. Chase suggests, however, that St. Luke wrote or intended to write as in ix. 29 "they spake and disputed with the Grecian Jews" and that a word has dropped out here as in some other passages in Acts. The similarity of the phraseology between ix. 29 and the verse before us had been pointed out by Dr. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 59), but whilst allowing that *πρός* may have an adversative sense here as in ix. 29, he regards this explanation as less likely than others, because of the absence of any further indication of opposition on the part of the Hellenists. We venture to think that the textual problem is not so simple as Dr. Chase's solution would make it.

The acknowledged success of St. Paul's preaching to the Gentiles in the first missionary journey (Acts xiv. 27), brings us face to face with the great controversy of the Apostolic age as to the terms of Gentile admission to the Church. Dr. Chase apparently has no hesitation in identifying the account of the Council (Acts xv.) with Gal. ii. (although in future we shall have to deal not only with the arguments of Professor

Ramsay, but with those of Dr. Weber of Würzburg as against this identification), and he gives some thoughtful reasons for adopting this position (p. 92), as, *e.g.*, that St. Luke as a Gentile would be essentially unable to enter into what may be called the inwardness of the conflict, while as an outsider he would be able at a later date to write a calm summary of the dispute. Some further noteworthy remarks follow on the genuineness of the letter of the Council, and Dr. Chase sees in its wording a confirmation of the assumption which he does not hesitate to make, that the writer of Acts was known to St. James, and that consequently he would have had ready access to information from the Church in Jerusalem. Dr. Chase warmly advocates Professor Robertson Smith's reference of the difficult words "blood" and "things strangled" to rites current among heathen Semites. These rites are specially prohibited because of their prevalence in Syria (the letter being addressed to Churches in Antioch and Syria), and because of the abhorrence in which they were held by the Jews. We thus have, Dr. Chase further urges, a natural explanation as to any lack of reference to the letter, when St. Paul is answering the questions raised by his Corinthian converts. But the words under discussion are of course open to other interpretations, and Dr. Hort's view of them (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 68) will still find favour with many inquirers. In his brief summary of the closing scenes of Acts, it is of interest to note that Dr. Chase justifies his explanation of the expression "the uttermost part of the earth" (i. 8) by Rome with a reference to *Psalms of Solomon* viii. 16, and that in the final word of the Apostle of the Gentiles, preserved by his friend, "they will hear," he finds a prophecy of the Gospel among "all the nations" (p. 100). It will thus be seen that while Dr. Chase does not touch upon the view of a possible "third treatise," a view which has commended itself to no mean authorities, he recognises that the history of Acts is complete in bringing Paul to Rome, and the two books of St. Luke cover the whole ground as he conceived it, of the history of the origins of Christianity—the Acts of Jesus Christ, the Acts of the Apostles (pp. 52, 53).

The two last lectures are devoted to a most scholarly and interesting examination of the teaching of the two great Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and possibly to many readers they will present themselves as the most valuable part of the book. Before examining their wording in detail Dr. Chase fitly asks how the speeches of the two Apostles may have been obtained. In this inquiry it will be noticed that while writing from a conservative standpoint, Dr. Chase does not hesitate to lay great stress upon what he calls the editorial work of St. Luke. As to some of the later speeches, Dr. Chase has some acute remarks on the probability of the method of their transmission. Some kind of shorthand was undoubtedly practised amongst the ancients, and Dr. Chase throws out an interesting suggestion in connexion with a passage in Galen that St. Luke may himself have gained the power of shorthand writing in the course of his medical training (p. 112). The remarks on the probability of St. Peter's knowledge of Greek (p. 214) call for careful attention, and when read in connexion with Mr. F. C. Conybeare's article "Hellenism," in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, it would certainly seem that a strong case may be made out for a widely diffused knowledge of Greek in Palestine in New Testament times, a knowledge by no means confined to the aristocracy or to the rich. It is of course evident that St. Luke had not the same obvious authority for St. Peter's speeches as for St. Paul's, but whilst Dr. Chase acknowledges that he does not wish to lay too much stress upon the similarities between the reported words of St. Peter in Acts, and his written words in his First Epistle, he thinks that the parallel at least suggests that St. Luke's authority for, or his version of, the Petrine speeches passed through St. Peter's hands, and he again refers to the strong probability that the Evangelist and St. Peter may have met at Rome (p. 121). In the pages which follow, the remarkably Judaic setting of St. Peter's words is illustrated in detail. The forms of address, the phrases of appeal, in these speeches may well be instances of the homiletic formulas of the synagogue, and we have expressions which occur in the *Kaddish*, in the

Eighteen Benedictions, in the *Psalms of Solomon*. So too the language of these early addresses, like that of the address of St. Paul in Pisidian Antioch, is shown to be closely connected with the current ideas and language of the Messianic hope, and in this connexion two remarkable titles of our Lord Himself naturally come under discussion, and the full significance of the phrase "the Holy and Righteous One" (Acts iii. 14, iv. 27, 30) is strikingly illustrated. The next few pages closely examine another title "the Servant of the Lord," and whilst its connexion with current language, its difference of interpretation among Hebrews and Hellenists, and its adoption in early Christian literature, are not forgotten, its use as a pre-Christian Messianic title is rightly described as most primitive. As we read the carefully balanced judgment of Dr. Chase on the undoubted early and remarkable employment of these various titles we remember that even Dr. Schmiedel was constrained to write: "It is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source" (*Encycl. Bibl.*, i., 48). We are glad to note that Dr. Chase finds room for an examination of the testimony borne by Acts to the historical facts of our Lord's earthly life (p. 141). This has of course been often done with reference to the relation between the New Testament Epistles and the facts of the Gospels, but it is well that recent writers like Dr. Chase and Mr. Rackham should emphasise the connexion between Acts and Gospels in this respect. Here Dr. Chase notes that Acts ii. 22, x. 38, contain the only references in the New Testament outside the Gospels to our Lord's ministry of miracles, and he makes a good point in reminding us that the appeal in this first speech on the day of Pentecost to those who had themselves seen these wonders and signs is full of significance, when taken in connexion with the silence of the other New Testament writers elsewhere: "the naturalness of it here is emphasised by the very absence of anything like it elsewhere". One other point may here be noticed, *viz.*, the conception of a suffering Messiah, and St. Peter's insistence upon it, which Dr. Chase graphically

illustrates, in spite of its strangeness, its shamefulness, in spite of the fact that it was so audaciously new. We are so familiar with the conception that we forget its novelty and its offensiveness: "no Jew," says Wernle, "before Jesus had explained Isaiah liii. of a dying Messiah".

What inference does St. Peter draw from the historical facts not only of the Passion and Death, but of the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ? The answer is to be found in the solemn charge with which he closes his Pentecostal sermon, "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified". Both these titles too had a history in the past. But whilst it may be said that the term Lord has its exact shade of meaning determined by the context, here the context undoubtedly raises the ancient title above the sphere of the human and the earthly (p. 157). This part of the book concludes by an apt reminder that St. Peter's addresses differ widely from any one of the Apostolic Epistles (except perhaps that of St. James), inasmuch as they give us an immediate interpretation of the facts of the Christian Creed addressed to Jews at Jerusalem, many of whom had cried "Crucify Him" and had watched the death "upon the tree," whilst the Epistles give us a more matured apprehension and exposition of these facts; here again it is plain that such addresses could not be the invention of the Gentile author of the book, familiar with the fuller teaching of St. Paul, and writing when the peculiar circumstances and the phases of thought which the addresses presuppose had long passed away (p. 159).

The last lecture deals with the witness borne by the speeches of St. Paul. In turning first to the Apostle's witness to Israel, Dr. Chase makes an important point in drawing attention to the fact that whilst in St. Paul's Epistles we have exhortations and arguments specially addressed to Jews (although, of course, as in Romans and 1 Cor., there are passages in which the Apostle addresses now Jewish and now Gentile converts, a fact which might well be remembered by hyper-critics like Van Manen), yet we have no distinct and detailed example in his writings of the way in which the Apostle preached the Gospel to his fellow

countrymen. The Epistles therefore supply no model on which a romancer could construct a Pauline sermon to Jews (p. 173). Dr. Chase starts from St. Paul's use of the title "Son of God" (Acts ix. 20), and finds here another current and Messianic title invested by St. Paul with a deeper and fuller meaning, and his remarks in this connexion remind us of Dr. Sanday's treatment of the same words in his article "Son of God," *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, vol. iv. An attempt has recently been made to show that St. Paul was influenced in his use of the term by pagan associations, but it should be remembered that it is not at Athens before Stoics and Epicureans that he calls Jesus the Son of God, but in the synagogues of the Jews. In the speech at the Pisidian Antioch Dr. Chase adds another to the subtle connexions traced by Professor Ramsay between this speech and the Epistle to the Galatians (pp. 181, 182), and here again, although from an examination of a different verse, he shows with Professor Ramsay that the speech is completely in harmony with the subsequent declaration of Gal. iv. 4. Not the least valuable part of the examination of the Pisidian Antioch address is the way in which Dr. Chase briefly discusses St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith (Acts xiii. 39), as the issue of Christ's redemptive work and as an answer to the cravings of sinful man for peace with God. So far from this verse presenting itself as an unauthorised addition to the speech (as some critics would fain regard it), it is rather remarkably in keeping when addressed to a Jewish audience, inasmuch as it solves the problem which had so often perplexed the pious Israelite. In all this naturalness of expression Dr. Chase rightly sees a proof that we have before us a very close report of St. Paul's own words, and his remarks upon the pseudepigraphical and apocryphal books of the Jews may well be read in connexion with Dr. Charles' recent editions of some of these books, in which he shows us how sorely the teaching of St. Paul was needed in connexion with this same doctrine of justification before God.

In St. Paul's witness to the pagan world Dr. Chase, like Professor Ramsay, duly emphasises the fact that from be-

ginning to end there is not a single word in the speech at Lystra which stamps it as Christian, and he well reminds us that the speaker's aim for the moment was not to evangelise, but to prevent an act of idolatry (p. 204). But no one can read the narrative in Acts, and the subsequent notice of Lystra, without seeing at the same time that the converts made there were fully instructed in the Christian Faith.

In dealing with St. Paul's visit to Athens Dr. Chase is at issue with Professor Ramsay as to the site of the Apostle's address to those who would know more of his new teaching. But although Dr. Chase argues with great force against the supposition of a formal religious tribunal, we may venture to think that he goes somewhat too far in a counter direction, and that he does not dispose of the difficulties which Professor Ramsay enumerates as attaching to the supposition that the speech was delivered on the summit of the Areopagus, and not before the Court in the *Stoa Basileios*. In this connexion we may note that a controversy has arisen over the interpretation given by Dr. Chase to the words *ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*; he regards them as expressive of rebuke not wholly unmingled with contempt; but it is not only difficult to believe that St. Paul would thus commence a speech in which he wished to gain a hearing, but the context (v. 24), where the verb *εὐσεβείτε* is regarded by him as one result of this *δεισιδαιμονία*, would certainly suggest that the adjective is used here in a good sense.

Professor Ramsay in his *St. Paul* (p. 252) has strikingly drawn out how St. Paul, after his visit to Athens, is found at Corinth "wholly absorbed in preaching, attesting to the Jews that the Anointed One is Jesus," and he sees in this expression, unlike anything else in Acts, an indication that at Corinth the Apostle no longer spoke in the philosophic style of his address at Athens. Dr. Chase notes that in 1 Cor. we have an emphatic assertion of the simplicity of the Gospel (1 Cor. ii. 2, etc.), and he also asks whether this may not be accounted for by the Apostle's consciousness that at Athens he had been too eager to gain "the wise after the flesh". If this interpretation of the words in 1 Cor. is

correct, then Dr. Chase finds in it a strong confirmation of the truthfulness of the historian's account of St. Paul's visit to Athens (p. 234). We have left ourselves no space to do more than mention the searching and admirable examination of the speech addressed to the elders at Miletus, the one among the speeches at which St. Luke himself may well have been present (pp. 234-288). Here Dr. Chase finds not only that the language and the thoughts bear the closest resemblance to the language and thought of St. Paul's Epistles, but that we may discern the same religious temper, and the same combination of human qualities. He is careful too to point out how naturally the attitude of the Apostle towards his journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 17 ff.) accords with the tone of Rom. xv. 30, a coincidence so strikingly enforced by Dr. Hort and earlier still by Paley.

One more important point is made by Dr. Chase in his reminder that the evidential value of these several speeches can only be fully appreciated when they are regarded in a series. We have to suppose, if the speeches are not genuine, that not one Pauline speech has been invented, but four, for three of which no pattern is supplied by the Epistles, each appropriate to its alleged occasion, and yet diverse from the other three, each in agreement with what we know of St. Paul's character, and containing subtle and always unobtrusive resemblances to the style and language of the Apostle's writings. This would have been a literary and psychological feat demanding extraordinary dramatic power (p. 292).

There are numerous other points of interest and value in this most helpful volume. But at the same time we must remember that it has not been Dr. Chase's aim to examine all the problems, but to maintain the *credibility*, of Acts. In his Preface Dr. Chase tells us that he has had the highest ideal set before him in his own teachers of the honesty, accuracy, and reverence, which are the essential qualifications of the Biblical critic. The pages which follow show us how successfully he has fulfilled these requirements.

R. J. KNOWLING.

**Zur Genesis der Agada. Beitrag zur Entstehungs- und
Entwickelungs-Geschichte des Talmudischen Schrift-
thums.**

*Von Dr. N. I. Weinstein. II. Theil : die Alexandrinische Agada.
Frankfurt-a-M. : J. Kaufmann, 1901. M.8.*

**Natur und Geist, nach der Auffassung des Alten Testa-
ments. Eine Untersuchung zur historischen Psy-
chologie.**

*Von Justus Koeberle, Privatdozent an der Universität Erlangen.
München : Oskar Beck, 1901. M.7.*

THE former of these two works, from the pen of a learned Jewish writer, forms a welcome and important contribution to the literature of Judaism. The author briefly states the origin and motive of the treatise. Even in his earlier years he perceived that the Talmudical writings, especially the Haggadic portions, contain many Greek expressions whose presence there can be accounted for only on the ground that those who employed them could not otherwise make themselves properly understood. But he further considered that Talmudic teachers had frequent intercourse with Jews who could speak no language but Greek. He was thus convinced that it was of the greatest importance, for the proper investigation of the Talmud, and for determining the period of its formation, to inquire into the views regarding it held by purely Hellenistic Jews who had no direct intercourse with their Palestinian compatriots, and the attitude of the dispersed Israelites to the Talmud. For the solution of this problem, it was obviously necessary to make a special study of the ancient Græco-Judaic religious literature. The execution of the task demanded much time and labour, but these have been ungrudgingly bestowed by the writer who has now presented us with an instalment of his work.

But this, though the second portion of the whole, has been published before the first, for good and sufficient reasons. Here we are at once introduced to the heart of the theme which the author proposed to himself. He first quotes and then examines in detail those passages in the "Wisdom of Solomon," forming one of the books in the Greek Canon of the Old Testament, which refer to what is more fully recorded in the earlier historical books; with these citations from the Alexandrian text he further places before us a number of passages from the Talmud which certainly exhibit striking similarity of thought and language—especially of a homiletical character—to the Greek of the Book of Wisdom. But, as there is hardly any trace of the Mishna, which forms the basis of the Talmud, at the time when the Greek Scriptures were already in use among the Hellenistic Jews at Alexandria and elsewhere, it is inferred that this remarkable likeness between the Alexandrian Greek and the Talmud is due to the dependence of the latter on the former.

Still more remarkable is the resemblance traced in the second chapter between the doctrine regarding the Logos, prevalent among the Hellenistic Jews before the formation of the Talmud, and the teaching contained in the latter concerning the relation between the Creator and the creation, including the place and functions of angels. Indeed, it is distinctly affirmed that the ideas presented in the Talmudic writings regarding angels and other supposed intermediaries between God and men form an exact copy of the doctrine concerning the Logos, as found in Philo; and many passages from the Talmud are cited in proof of the identity.

The third chapter, on the "Minim," forms an ingenious and interesting discussion regarding the precise reference of this term, which is frequently used in Talmudical and Rabbinical writings. Difficulty arises when the attempt is made to define exactly whom we are to understand as indicated by this name. There is general agreement, indeed, that the designation, "Minim," applies to all who reject Jewish Monotheism; but, beyond this point, disagreement begins. Dr. Weinstein contends he has proved that the term cannot

mean Jewish Christians, as some allege, seeing that it was employed before the Christian era to signify others who diverged from orthodox Judaism; and in proof of this he cites an instructive passage from the Talmud (*Sandhedrin*, x., 5) which runs thus: "Israel had no sooner gone into exile than twenty-four parties of Minim were formed within it". His investigations into this and other passages have convinced him that, in the Talmud, Minim do not mean idolaters, but those who, without repudiating Jewish monotheism, early accepted the doctrine concerning the Logos in some such form as Philo had attributed to Moses, in his remarks on Genesis i. 27. Further research—the results of which are given in this chapter—plainly shows that the Talmudist was well acquainted with the whole doctrines of the Alexandrian school, and thoroughly understood its theosophy, through constant intercourse with Greek-speaking Jews.

The author hopes soon to complete his work by publishing the first part, which will present a view of the Haggada in general, and an account of the learned writers who have contributed to its formation.

The writer of the second treatise has shown his practical sagacity even in the selection of his subject, which, in itself attractive, is made still more interesting to his readers through his lucid style and the orderly arrangement of his materials. The work is essentially an investigation of the way in which the writers of the Old Testament regarded the outer world, as revealed to the human soul by the senses, and the inner world of the human soul itself. The whole thus resolves itself into an investigation of psychic phenomena. But we are reminded that the history of Israel, as distinctively religious, necessarily exercised a determinant influence on the views and the language of the nation as well as the individual. The history of other Semitic peoples, indeed, affords many valuable side-lights which are duly utilised at suitable stages in this work; yet the writer dis-

plays admirable firmness of judgment in keeping constant touch with his main theme, and in giving secondary matters only a subordinate position. An interesting side-remark is the observation that while parallels to the Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ (*soul*) and לֵב (*heart*) are found in other Semitic languages, these present nothing which corresponds to רוּחַ (*spirit*), except in later times, when the idea was evidently borrowed from the Old Testament realm of thought.

After two introductory chapters on the lines of investigation to be pursued, and the field to be surveyed, we are asked to keep in view the acknowledged influence exercised on the mind and the character, as well as on the political history, of a people, by geographical position, climate, and the nature of the soil ; and to note that the Hebrews formed no exception to this general principle. Situated between the Great Empires in Egypt on the one hand, and in Mesopotamia on the other, Palestine necessarily became, again and again, the scene of conflict between opposing powers on the east and the west ; other nations also, more closely adjacent—as the Syrians and Philistines—came into frequent contact or conflict with the Hebrews. The minds of the common people, as well as the historians and the prophets, thus were frequently exercised regarding events in which they played a part. Even more influential, however, on the thoughts and the character of the Hebrews, was their more persistent contact with neighbouring nations from whom they received ideas and impressions—often the worst—which affected their moral and religious conceptions. Mere variety of scene and soil also, within the compass of the Holy Land itself, constrained even unimaginative minds to observe, compare and contrast ; while the striking changes of climate, arising from difference of altitude within the comparatively limited area of Palestine, as well as the vicissitudes of the seasons, formed another strong stimulus to mark external nature.

Next we are led to trace the workings of the Hebrew mind, after it has been stirred to action, and to note its peculiarities. Naturally, beginning is made with a contemplation of the

concrete, and not the abstract, and it is remarkable that individual objects seem to have a special attraction for the Hebrew mind; there is little inclination to generalise. Attention is then drawn to the readiness with which the writers in the Old Testament poetically attribute to inanimate objects something of human feeling and affection, so as to regard them, for the time being, as sentient and animated. But emphasis is properly laid on the fact that amidst this frequent figurative investment of natural objects with human thoughts and affections, there is no pantheism, but a reference of all created things to the Creator.

The weaker portion of this work is in the more purely psychological section, where the writer treats of the Old Testament conceptions regarding the human soul itself. Here, certainly, he has to a large extent availed himself of the results presented in the treatises of others on Biblical psychology. But it is disappointing to find that he makes no allusion to such works, in English, as Dickson's *Baird Lectures on Flesh and Spirit*, or Laidlaw's *Cunningham Lectures on the Bible Doctrine of Man*. Indeed, he seems to know English works merely through translations which have been made into German (see page 6). What would now be thought, on the other hand, of British or American theologians who have no first-hand acquaintance with works in German?

JAMES KENNEDY.

**Die gegenwärtigen Richtungen der Religionsphilosophie
in England und ihre erkenntniss-theoretischen Grund-
lagen.**

*Von Newton H. Marshall. Berlin: Verlag von Reuter u.
Reichard, 1902. 8vo, pp. 136.*

**Der Weg zu Gott unserm Vater. Eine Einführung ins
Vaterunser als Einleitung in die christliche Lehre.**

*Von Dr. Samuel Jaeger, Inspektor des Tholuckkonvikts, Halle.
Halle a.d. S. Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses,
1902. Pp. 142.*

JUDGING by the style of this work I should say that the author is an American. The German is very frequently not the German a German would write, though it may not be exactly incorrect. If so, the book is a sort of literary *tour de force* which, though deserving admiration of a sort, represents a certain waste of effort. Mr. Marshall would have succeeded better in his proper purpose if he had written in English—so it strikes me.

The subject of the book is both interesting and important, and the author has evidently bestowed a great deal of conscientious investigation and thought on it. The list of works referred to in the course of his dissertation and given at the end, though not complete, or pretending to be, is extensive.

After a brief introduction touching on the relation between philosophy of religion and epistemology, on the classification of *Weltanschauungen* and other points, he goes on to deal with his subject under three great heads entitled "Naturalism," "Objective Idealism," and the "Idealism of Freedom". These heads represent a classification of *Weltanschauungen* accepted *pro tem.* from Dilthey, the biographer of Schleiermacher.

The first and second may be taken as self-explanatory; the

third is formulated as follows: "The Idealism of subjectivity (or freedom) has its structure in the relation between the following momenta. The psychologically intuitive or experimental method leads to the assumption first, of a free unitary (einheitlich) spontaneity, as the fact primarily and indissolubly setted by this method; secondly, of responsibility as the fundamental quality of the activity of this individual psychical cause; and thirdly, of the correlation between such free, responsible spontaneous spiritual unities and an absolute personal and free cause."

Under the head of "Naturalism" are expounded the epistemological doctrines of Huxley and Spencer and the religious doctrines of Spencer, Max Müller, J. G. Frazer, Grant Allen, Romanes and Henry Drummond. Under the head of "Objective Idealism" are set forth the epistemology of Bradley and the religious doctrines of Spinoza, Hegel, Bradley and the Cairds: under the third head he treats of the epistemology of Martineau, Professor Campbell, Fraser and Kidd and the religious doctrine of Upton (Hibbert Lectures). The work closes with sections headed, "Theological View," "Changes in Theology," "Summary of Results of the Enquiry," "Empirical Psychology and Mysticism in England".

In the closing summary we are assured that the common element in all the doctrines reviewed consists in the rise of a paradox.

That of Naturalism is the incommensurability of thought and being, *i.e.*, it denies the objective validity of thought and maintains that the actual nature of being must remain ever unintelligible. This paradox, however, is possible only on the assumption that objective validity involves a metaphysical element. Validity of thought, on the other hand, is a matter of epistemology, not of metaphysics, with which it has nothing to do. Hence the ground of the paradox is the absorption of epistemology by metaphysics.

Not otherwise is it with "Objective Idealism". In it also the metaphysical element gives rise to the paradox, that, namely, of stages or degrees of actuality. The objective

idealist starts with the subordination of epistemology to metaphysics, and is therefore inevitably landed in the paradox above described.

Thinkers of the third school aim at combining epistemology and metaphysics. Some of them do so quite openly and have accordingly been landed in pronounced metaphysical dualism. Others endeavour to proceed epistemologically, but fail. The outcome is the paradox of metaphysical dualism, instead of a purely epistemological distinction between knowledge and faith.

The results of these paradoxes for religion are obvious. Naturalism dogmatically rejects religion. Objective Idealism leads to various views of religion, but excludes the possibility of a theology with a solid basis. The Idealism of Freedom lands inevitably in a mistaken conception of faith, and without first instituting a scientific investigation into the nature of faith and its possible objects, co-ordinates it and reasoned knowledge (*wissen*). "Our conclusion, therefore, is that neither of the principles reviewed presents a satisfactory doctrine or philosophy of religion; and that the reason thereof is the untrustworthy nature of their epistemological groundwork, which is really swallowed up by metaphysical elements. Save on a sound epistemological foundation, no scientific philosophy of religion and theology will in the future ever be possible."

The author of this book is the exceptionally able inspector or warden, as we might put it, of the residential hall for theological students at the University of Halle, known as the *Tholuckkonvikt*, so named in memory of Professor Tholuck and his wife—a lady whose noble lineage, cultured bearing and mind were heightened by rare combination of Christian graces.

It is perhaps presumptuous in a foreigner to venture on judging German style; but I cannot avoid saying that I have never come across a German book more characterised by clearness and simplicity of style than this. As regards

movement, transparency and easy precision, it is not unlike a good French production.

The subject is "The Lord's Prayer," treated as an introduction to Christian doctrine. The matter is distributed under three great heads: I. The way through Jesus to God. Faith and Experience; II. The way from God to His Son. Prayer and Fulfilment; III. The way through the Son to the Father. Atonement and Sonship. The work is a reprint in the main of articles which appeared in *Die Reformierte Kirchenzeitung*.

As a brief—all to brief—specimen of the spirit and style of the book, I will quote the closing sentences: "The hidden God, revealed to us through Jesus of Nazareth, drew us invisibly to Himself, nearer and ever nearer, till we suddenly stood on the very brink of the gulf that yawned between Him the Holy One and us the sinners. Then He laid across it a narrow bridge, the cross, over which He bade us follow His Son to Himself, without looking either to the right hand or to the left. And there in Him He gives us the highest and best that He has to give, namely Himself, His fatherly heart and His spirit. Of Him we are born by Him. Through Him we are drawn to Him. In Him we are to live for Him. Of, through and by ourselves we are nothing; everything that we are, we are of, through and for Him. He is all in all. That is our blessedness; that is His glory."

D. W. SIMON.

The Bane and the Antidote, and other Sermons. By the Rev. W. L. WATKINSON. London : C. H. Kelly, 1902. 8vo, pp. 304. Price 3s. 6d.

Mr. Watkinson has published various volumes of sermons before this one, which have attracted deserved attention. Long ago he established his right to rank among the most outstanding preachers of his time, and it is enough to say that this latest volume well maintains his well-earned reputation. The qualities are conspicuous in it which have won so wide an acceptance for his *Studies in Christian Character and Work and Experience*, his volumes of discourses bearing the titles of *The Transfigured Sackcloth*, *The Blind Spot*, and others. The opening sermon, which gives its title to the volume now before us, deals in a noble and penetrating way with the old familiar themes of sin and grace. Among the striking addresses that follow we may refer to those on "The Imagination in Sin," "The Upward Look," "Subpœnaed Witness" (on Deut. xxxii. 31), "The Common Coronation" (1 Peter ii. 7). The subject of the "Reality of the Spiritual Life" is handled in a notable and original way on the basis of Paul's "The life which is life indeed" (1 Tim. vi. 19, R.V.), and the well-worn subject of the "Thorn in the Flesh" is dealt with in a very fresh and suggestive fashion under the title "Cut to the Quick". But the book will be read from beginning to end with unflagging interest and with constant edification.

The Teachings of Dante. By CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 221.

This is a book for which students of the great Florentine will be grateful. It is written in an easy, forcible style, and it is rich in useful matter. It gives us first a series of short, interesting chapters on Dante himself, the modern interest in

him, his outward and his inward life, his characteristics and his place in history. Then comes a section dealing with the "Burden of the Message," including the call of the prophet, the message in its political and religious aspects, and its value. This is succeeded by three divisions which deal more in detail with Dante's thought and teaching, one entitled "The Vision of Sin," a second "The Quest of Liberty," and a third "The Ascent to God". The chapters which make up these distinct parts show wide and appreciative acquaintance with Dante's works, remarkable powers of exposition, and an admirable analytical faculty. The book is full of information, judicious criticism, and literary interest. It deserves to be widely known. Many will find in it what they particularly need, especially in the beginnings of their studies, and what they often fail to get in more elaborate volumes.

Christian Verities. Sermons by the Rev. S. G. WOODROW (of Aberdeen). London: Arthur H. Stockwell. Cr. 8vo, pp. 156. Price 2s. 6d.

This book is an addition to the series known as "The Baptist Pulpit," of which over twenty volumes have already appeared. It is from the pen of a busy city pastor, and consists of a selection of twelve sermons on such subjects as "Faith and Sight," "Christian Certitude," "The Burning Bush," etc. The discourses are catholic in spirit, skilfully constructed, and written in a clear, pointed style. They are practical and profitable in their message, and serve admirably the purposes of edification. There is much good thinking in them, and they arrest the reader not unfrequently by striking sentences. They justify their selection to the honour of a place in the series to which they belong. The strength of their teaching on its doctrinal side as well as its practical is best seen in such discourses as those on "The Just for the Unjust," and "Theories of the Atonement". In the last-mentioned the author attempts a review of the progress of Christian thought, taking Mr. Lidgett's able Fernley Lecture as his basis. The survey is brief, but judicious. Justice is done to the services

rendered by the fruitful, though incomplete, contributions of Bushnell, Coleridge and others. The author's own conclusion is that "the life and death of Jesus Christ constitute a perfect satisfaction for sin; that it must be viewed in the light of the Divine Fatherhood and of the Incarnation; and that all theories have contributed some important truths, but that no theory is adequate, because the Atonement contains transcendental elements which surpass our comprehension". In this we cordially agree with him.

Revelation. Introduction, Authorised Version, Revised Version, with Notes, Index and Map. Edited by C. ANDERSON SCOTT, M.A. (Camb.) Author of *Evangelical Religion Bible Truth, Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths*, etc. Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack. Pp. 308. Price 2s. cloth; 2s. 6d. leather.

This is another volume of the *Century Bible*, edited by Professor W. F. Adeney. Mr. Scott has had a peculiarly difficult task in producing a small, portable commentary on a book so full of problems as the Apocalypse. It will be found that he has discharged this task in a way that fulfils the design of the series and provides the help for which many readers will be grateful. The interpretation of the Revelation of St. John has passed through many phases, some of them of a far-fetched order. It has entered of late years on a new stage in its strange course, one that is in some important respects more faithful to the historical method and more fruitful than any of its predecessors, but at the same time one which lends itself very readily to exaggeration and from which too much may be expected. Mr. Scott has informed himself in this last development of the exegesis of the book, and has also given careful attention to the most recent contributions to the solution of the critical and historical questions. He has used his materials with skill, with good sense, and with a very proper regard to the fact that, notwithstanding the loud claims put in by some recent writers in behalf of certain new hypotheses, it has to be confessed

that there is very much that yet remains unsettled and uncertain.

The Introduction is an excellent piece of work, written in a clear and cogent style, and going over a wide and difficult field with a firm and experienced step. A good sketch is given of the history of the book, the different theories of its purpose, and the various schemes of interpretation which have been applied to it. Considerable attention is given to the curious Apocalyptic literature, especially the *Book of Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and the *Fourth Book of Esdras*. The characteristics of this class of literature, the points in which it differs from prophecy proper and the way in which it helps us in the reading of the Revelation of St. John, are stated in a very capable and informing way. The questions of date, authorship, structure and purpose are discussed with much care and with a steadiness of judgment by no means too frequently shown by writers on this fascinating book. Mr. Scott puts very forcibly the difficulty attaching to the hypothesis of a presbyter John distinct from the Apostle, and criticises with much good sense the theories of Völter, Vischer and others which seek to lighten the book of some of its problems by taking it to be a composite structure, not the product of one hand or one date. Examples of careful, sober handling of passages that try the exegete will be found in the notes on such paragraphs as chaps. vii. 4-8, xi. 1-13, xii., etc. Mr. Scott's volume deserves a good reception.

The Words of Jesus. Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language. By GUSTAF DALMAN, Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig. Authorised English Version, by D. M. KAY, B.D., B.Sc., Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the University of St. Andrews. I. Introduction and Fundamental Ideas. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 350. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Messrs. Clark have been well advised in undertaking a translation of Professor Dalman's book. And we are glad

to be able to say that the translation is satisfactory. It appears to be correctly done and to have the merit of being clear and readable. Of the book itself it is happily not necessary now to say much in the way of commendation or in directing attention to it. In its original German it rapidly made its way into the favour of scholars, and this English rendering will win for it a wider audience still. It is indeed indispensable to the student of the New Testament. Not that Professor Dalman's views of things are to be accepted at all points, or that the account which he gives of the outstanding and most distinctive terms is in every case complete. In some things room is left for doubt or dissent, and there are things omitted which we should gladly have seen included. But this does not take much from the value of the studies which Professor Dalman has given to the public. No one can read the discussions in this book on so many of the characteristic terms of the New Testament and the ideas underlying them, without feeling that he has been put upon the proper track and is directed to a peculiarly fruitful field of enquiry. The statements on the origin, literary connexions and usage of such terms in the teaching of our Lord as the "future age or æon," "the World," "Eternal life," etc., are full of interest. Not less suggestive are the expositions of the idea of the Theocracy and the sources and distinctive applications of the various names of God, the meaning of such phrases as "bound" and "loosed in heaven," etc. But of greater interest and importance still are the chapters on the great titles "Son of Man," "Son of God," "Christ," "Son of David". The exposition of the first of these titles deserves particular attention. It forms a much needed corrective to some of the many theoretical, not to say fanciful dissertations on the subject which have been thrust upon our notice lately, few of which give anything like sufficient attention to the sense of the term as it occurs in its various connexions in the Gospels themselves. Professor Dalman's conclusion bears among other things that the sense attached to the term by our Lord is peculiar to Himself; that it connotes humility and suffering as well as majesty; and that the in-

terpretation put upon it by the Hellenistic Synoptists and the primitive Church, "though in the narrower sense inexact, was not erroneous in so far as they found in it a testimony of Jesus to the reality of His human nature". It is of interest also to notice that Professor Dalman has given up the idea to which he was for a time favourably inclined, namely, that "Son of Man" might be a paradoxical term for "Son of God".

The introduction deals in a masterly fashion with the use of Aramaic among the Jews, the literary use of Hebrew, the Semitisms of the Synoptic Gospels, the alleged proofs of a primitive Hebrew Gospel, etc. On all these subjects Professor Dalman has much to say that is to the purpose. His criticisms of the theory of a primary Gospel in the Hebrew language will do much to dispose of that hypothesis. His discussions give us greater confidence in the Greek text as representing the original words. Every one interested in New Testament studies should have this scholarly and suggestive volume at his hand.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

THE March issue of the *Monatschrift für die Kirchliche Praxis* contains good articles on *Stellvertretende Leiden* by F. N., and *Aufgaben der Apologetik* by Pfarrer Traub. In the corresponding issue of the *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* M. Louis Maisonneuve concludes his papers on "Fidéisme". In the first number of the *Indian Church Review* for the year we notice a very readable paper by Mr. Eugene Stock on "Bishop Daniel Wilson" and another by the Rev. W. H. Hutton on "The Homes of the Tractarians". An interesting paper is contributed to the April issue of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* by Frances E. Davison on the "Witness of the Grave-Clothes," bringing out how much there is in Mr. Latham's theory (as stated in his volume on *The Risen Master*) to explain the conduct of the disciples as described in the Gospels. In the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses* for March-April M. Jerome Labourt gives the first of what promises to be an instructive series of papers on "Christianity in the Empire of the Persians," and M. Joseph Turmel continues his series on the "Dogma of Original Sin in Augustine" dealing with the *nature* and *propagation* of original sin.

The April number of the *International Journal of Ethics* opens with a paper by Mr. Arthur W. Benn on "The Ethical Value of Hellenism". The drift of the paper may be judged by these statements: "If indeed the question of obligation be once raised we shall have to ask not so much what the Greeks owe to Christianity as what it owes to them;" "Catholicism in its original and only true sense is but the theological expression for universal Hellenic humanity;" "the root-ideas of Pauline theology are only intelligible when interpreted in the light of Plato's metaphysics;" "the

ethical value of Hellenism may be defined as its influence in fixing attention on the purely moral side of the popular religion, and in preparing men's minds for the eventual reception of a morality independent of religious sanctions". There are good papers by G. W. Knox of Union Theological Seminary, New York, on "Religion and Ethics," the Rev. J. H. Harley on "The Place of Ethics in the Table of the Sciences," and others. Mr. Knox deals carefully with the positions of Clifford, Huxley, Sidgwick, Romanes, Hæckel, etc., and concludes that "Ethics can be rendered rational only on the assumption that there is a reality deeper than the phenomenal world of sense, truer than the world we know and better". We notice here also a third edition of Professor Adolf Harnack's suggestive discourse on the theological faculties and the history of religion—*Die Aufgabe der theologischen Facultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*.¹

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July we have articles on these subjects among others that are of interest—"A Study of Mormonism," by George R. Lunn; "Ad. Harnack's 'Essence of Christianity' and his Critics," by O. Zöckler; "Jehovah's Protest against Altar Service," by M. A. Bulloch.

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for the same quarter Professor Warfield has an important and searching paper on "Mr. Kenyon and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament". There are also important papers by others, *e.g.*, by E. H. Griffin on "The Epistemological Argument for Theism".

The *Church Quarterly Review* for July has a number of very readable papers, among which we specially notice the opening one on "The Holy Eucharist," an historical inquiry dealing chiefly with the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, containing much interesting matter. We shall look with expectation for its completion.

In the July number of the *American Journal of Theology* there are four good papers and some valuable critical notes.

¹ Giessen: Ricker; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 22. Price 6d.

The outstanding article is the first, in which Professor McGiffert of New York deals with the "Origin of High-Church Episcopacy," and brings out in a clear and convincing way how far the High-Church idea has departed from the primitive position.

There are several strong articles in the July issue of *Mind*, e.g., F. H. Bradley's paper on "Mental Conflict and Imputation," and J. A. Stewart's on the "Attitude of Speculative Idealism to Natural Science," not to speak of others. The critical notes are also of great value, e.g., those on Howison's *Limits of Evolution* and McTaggart's *Studies in the Hegelian Cosmology*.

We direct special attention to those articles in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxi., 1, "The Ephod," by T. C. Foote; "Difficult Passages in the Song of Songs," by Paul Haupt; "The Pre-existence of the Messiah," by G. F. Barton; and "The Haskell Gospels," by F. J. Goodspeed. The last is brief, but gives an excellent account of the MS. now in the possession of the University of Chicago, dating from about A.D. 1500, and containing readings of a somewhat distinctively Syrian type of text.

The April and July issues of the *Journal of Theological Studies* contain various papers of importance. In April, the Rev. P. N. Waggett writes on "The Manifold Unity of Christian Life," endeavouring to vindicate the proper and inseparable connexion of the inward and the outward in the origin of the heavenly things, the Incarnation, the sacramental doctrine concerning "events in the Church which extend to us the life of Christ," spiritual experience, character, and the practice of obedience. An interesting paper follows by the Rev. G. H. Box on "Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist". Mr. Box concludes that the true Jewish antecedent of the Christian Sacrament is not the Passover, but the *Kiddush*. He thinks this is supported by the negative testimony of the Fourth Gospel, the order of the elements in the true text of Luke xxii., Paul's indirect allusions, and by the *Didaché*. Besides a number of valuable notes on questions of historical interest ("English Mass-Books in the Ninth

Century," "A Synod at Cæsarea in Palestine in 393," etc.) by various hands, there is also a learned article by the Rev. C. H. Turner on "The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons," in which the adverse arguments of Dr. Friedrich of Munich are criticised. In July, Mr. Burkitt contributes an article on the "Date of the Codex Bezae". He admits that the date does not much affect our view of the value of the Codex, but thinks its historical interest is increased if it is put, as he argues, as a product of the times of Leo the Great and Apollinaris Sidonius. The argument is acute.

We have also pleasure in noticing these publications: *Seeing the King in his Beauty*,¹ a series of short, devout chapters by the Rev. W. Griffiths, M.A., on the reign of Christ and the fulfilment of its programme, written on the supposition that the promised Second Advent came to pass in the generation to which Christ preached on earth, and that this Advent was the "commencement of our Lord's abiding Presence among men"; *The Expositor*,² sixth series, vol. v., providing as usual abundant matter for the minister and the student, always interesting and sufficiently varied to suit different tastes—containing important articles by the late Professor A. B. Davidson on "Jacob at Peniel," Professor W. M. Ramsay on "The Jews in the Græco-Asiatic Cities," Professor Mayor on "A Puritan and a Broad Churchman in the Second Century" (Tertullian to wit), Professor Rendel Harris on "Some questions in Textual Criticism," etc.; *The Message of Man*,³ "a book of ethical Scriptures," as its secondary title bears, collected with much care and good taste by Stanton Coit, Ph.D., from many sources—a small volume, most tasteful and attractive in form, and furnishing on every page choice matter, gathered from the great minds of all countries and times, which will profit and stimulate the reader; *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, Register zu den drei Bänden*,⁴ an in-

¹ London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 12mo, pp. vi. + 197. Price 2s.

² Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 475. Price 7s. 6d.

³ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1902. Pp. 340. Price 2s. net.

⁴ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. 101.

dispensable addition to the third edition of Professor Emil Schürer's important *History*, prepared with great care and enabling the reader to lay his hand easily upon any section of the work he wishes to consult; *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes*,¹ and *des Basilius aus Achrida Erzbischofs von Thessalonich bisher unedierte Dialoge*,² two publications forming the sixth and seventh parts of the important series issued by the Munich Seminar for Church History, both of considerable historical interest, and carefully edited the one by Dr. J. E. Weis, the other, which is a contribution to the history of the Greek Schism, by Josef Schimdt; *Die Weisheit der Brahmanen und das Christentum*,³ an exposition and critique of the Vedānta Philosophy by Johannes Kreyher dealing in an able and well-instructed way with the main points in the teaching of the philosophy on the Being of God, the origin of the world, the human Soul, the redemption of man, and the things of the End, a concise and instructive statement of a difficult subject, forming part of the fifth year's issue of the series edited by Professors Schlatter and Cremer under the title of *Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*; *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten*,⁴ a collection of writings, including the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Acts of Karpus, Papyrus and Agathonike, the Martyrdom of Ptolemaeus and Lucius, The Acts of Justin, the Martyrs of Lyons, the Acts of the Scilitan Martyrs, and other sources for the History of the Martyrs, edited in a painstaking way in the Greek and Latin texts by Licentiate Rudolf Knopf of Marburg—a handy and scholarly volume; *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der Christlichen Kirche*,⁵ a collection of twenty-two pieces, covering much

¹ München: Lentner, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 4 + xxxviii. Price M.2.60.

² München: Lentner, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 54. Price M.1.60.

³ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. + 180. Price 3s.

⁴ Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. ix. + 120. Price M.2.50.

⁵ Berlin: Duncker, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 259. Price M.4.

the same ground as Licentiate Knopf's volume, but differing somewhat in the writings included (*e.g.*, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Passion of St. Irenaeus, the Acts of the Disputation of St. Achatius, two *Libelli* of the year 250, etc.), edited with a Preface, numerous notes and ample indices, by Dr. Oscar von Gebhardt, a book which the student of the history of the Primitive Church will value greatly; a third edition of the Rev. Hugh Mackintosh's *Is Christ Infallible and is the Bible True?*¹; a new volume of the tasteful "Helps Heavenward Series," consisting of a series of devout, thoughtful, and admirably written papers by Professor George G. Findlay, D.D., on *The Things Above*,² the subjects selected being such as these—"Coming to Mount Zion," "Serving and Waiting," "Maran Atha," "The Ascension of Jesus," etc.; the first instalment of a new historical series, *Opuscules de critique historique*, which promises to be of value, consisting of the *Regula Antiqua Fratrum et Sororum de Pœnitentia*³ (the Third Order of Saint Francis), carefully edited by M. Paul Sabatier from a manuscript numbered XX in the Library of the Convent of Capristan in the Abbruzzi; *Les Serments Carolingiens de 842 à Strasbourg*⁴—a learned dissertation by Adolphe Krafft, on an interesting and very difficult subject, going into ethnographical and linguistic discussions which challenge the consideration of experts in Frankish history, geography, and archæology, and in Romanish and Teutonic philology; *A Critical and Historical Enquiry into the Origin of the Third Gospel*,⁵ by P. C. Sense, M.A., a book of the same kind as the previous publication in which the author set himself the task of proving that the Fourth Gospel was compiled from the writings of Cerinthus, Valentinus and others, characterised by the same perverted ingenuity, the same contempt for ordinary historical and critical inquiry, the same scorn for

Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 723. Price 6s. net.

¹ London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901. Demy 16mo, pp. 256. Price 2s 6d.

² Paris: Fischbacher, 1901. 8vo, pp. 30.

³ Paris: Leroux, 1901. 8vo, pp. 147. Price Fr. 3.50.

⁴ London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 604. Price 7s. 6d.

the men who have the best title among us to the honourable name of scholar, and professing to have established the theory that the Third Gospel is a compilation from the Marcionite Gospel and the Apocryphal Gospels; *Words of Faith and Hope*¹—a collection of papers by the late Bishop of Durham (most of which have been previously published in separate form, but which are issued now, in accordance with what appears to have been the writer's design, in a single volume), full of Dr. Westcott's genial and hopeful spirit, and dealing in an earnest and instructive way with such topics as "Disciplined Life," "Christian Growth," "Voices of the Living Spirit," "Labour Co-operation," etc.; *Confession and Absolution, Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace, on 30th and 31st December, 1901, and 1st January, 1902, Edited by Henry Wace, D.D., Chairman of the Conference*,² a welcome and seasonable publication, carefully edited by Dr. Wace, which helps much to a better understanding of the precise position of the different parties in the Anglican Church on these important points of doctrine, and brings out a remarkable measure of agreement on two questions of great interest—the meaning of our Lord's words in St. John's Gospel ("Whosoever sins ye remit," etc.), and the permission given by the formularies of the Church to the practice of confession and absolution to a certain effect and in certain circumstances; *Some Notes on the Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900, on the Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual*,³ by the Rev. N. Dimock, A.M., an able and candid review of the points debated at the Round Table Conference, supported by a great wealth of learning, bringing out into full view the teaching of the great English divines of earlier times, and intended to lead to a better understanding of what the Catholic and Reformed conceptions of the Eucharist and

¹ By the late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Lord Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 212. Price 4s. 6d.

² London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 112. Price 3s. net.

³ London: Elliot Stock, 1901. 8vo, pp. 145. Price 4s. net.

the connected Ritual really are; *A Lamp unto my Feet*¹—a volume by the authoress of *Westminster Cloisters*, etc., giving some devout and helpful answers to questions that may suggest themselves to reverent and inquiring minds regarding the purpose of the Bible, the way in which it should be used, the relation of faith, obedience and prayer to the proper and profitable study of the Word of God, etc.

Messrs. Williams & Norgate will publish next October the first number of a new Quarterly to be known as *The Hibbert Journal*, and to be issued under the sanction, and with the support of, the Hibbert Trustees. It will be devoted to the discussion of Religious, Theological and Philosophical subjects, and its pages will be open to writers of ability and learning, irrespective of the particular doctrines they may be known to support or to oppose. The Journal will be avowedly liberal in character; under liberalism being understood impartiality to every seriously held point of view in the religious world, whether in the orthodox forms of historical Christianity, or in the forms of those who dissent from them. It will be an organ of the broadest possible catholicity. The Editors (Messrs. L. P. Jacks and G. Dawes Hicks) will be assisted by an editorial board consisting of scholars of the most various schools of thought. Amongst the latter are the Deans of Ely and Durham, Dr. John Watt, Professor Cheyne, Dr. Drummond, and Mr. Montefiore, whilst Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor Gardner and Professor Muirhead will represent science and philosophy.

¹ By M. Bedder (Mrs. Horace Porter). London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 144. Price 2s. 6d. net.

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Recent Theories respecting the Third Gospel.

DURING the last twenty years controversy as to the Gospel history has become less predominantly occupied with the Johannine problem. The Synoptic problem has attracted more and more attention; and, although theories respecting the Fourth Gospel still continue to be discussed, as is shown (among other works) by Wendt's recent inquiry into its genesis and historical value,¹ yet it is discussions respecting the Synoptic Gospels which, in this department of Biblical Criticism, occupy the larger portion of the field. And, on the whole, it is the Third Gospel which has received the largest amount of attention and criticism. The characteristics of the Third Gospel might be sufficient explanation for this. To a considerable extent it combines the points of special interest which are conspicuous in the First Gospel and in the Second, while it has not a few points of great interest which it shares with no other Gospel. But this is by no means the whole of the explanation as to the prominent place which the Third Gospel has taken in controversies respecting the contents of the Gospel narratives. In the sphere of Textual Criticism attention has been of late more and more directed to that type of text which is called sometimes "Western" and sometimes "Syro-Latin," but which is best styled, as by Kenyon in his excellent Handbook,² the " δ -text". This symbol is short; it serves to remind us that the chief representative of the text is Codex D; and it commits us to nothing as to the locality in which the text originated or prevailed. Seeing that Codex D contains both of the writings attributed to S. Luke, and that the phenomena which these

¹ *The Gospel according to St. John*, by H. H. Wendt. T. & T. Clark 1902.

² *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, by F. G. Kenyon. Macmillans, 1901.

two writings exhibit are of the utmost importance for the solution of the questions connected with the δ -text, this also has caused the Third Gospel to occupy a considerable space in recent discussions bearing upon New Testament criticism. Of the two writings commonly assigned to S. Luke, Acts seems to be receiving the larger amount of attention; but the Third Gospel of necessity receives a good deal. It will be worth while to look at some of the leading theories which have recently been put forth respecting the Third Gospel, and attempt to come to some conclusion as to whether we seem to be approaching finality with regard to any important questions.

It will be convenient to speak of it by the name which it has borne for so many centuries. "Luke" is shorter than "Third Gospel"; and the latter designation leads to no adjective, such as "Lucan," and an adjective is sometimes wanted. "Luke" and "Lucan," therefore, need not be objected to as question-begging names. At the same time the present writer ventures at the outset to express his conviction that these terms, when applied to the Third Gospel and to Acts, are not only convenient but correct. Nothing that he has read during the last eight years has led him to alter the views which he published in 1896 in the *International Critical Commentary* on S. Luke, to the effect that both these writings, in their entirety, are rightly assigned to "the beloved physician," the companion of S. Paul. On the other hand, he has read a good deal which has tended to confirm these views.

It would perhaps be rash to say that, if measured by quantity, more has been put forth of late in favour of the Lucan authorship than against it; and no useful purpose would be served by endeavouring to form any such estimate. Indeed the amazing article on "Gospels" in the second volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*¹ is so lengthy that it alone would go a long way towards making the amount of adverse argument exceed the amount of support. But if criticism is

¹ Edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. A. & C. Black, 1901.

estimated by its sobriety and solidity, rather than by the number of words used in expressing it and the confidence with which it is advanced, the balance will probably be found to be very much more in favour of traditional beliefs respecting the authorship of these writings than of this or that speculation which has been put forward on the subject during the last twelve or fifteen years.

It is a little over twelve years since Bishop Lightfoot quoted with approbation the opinion of Renan that "the author of the Third Gospel and the Acts was verily and indeed (*bien réellement*) Luke, a disciple of St. Paul";¹ and also Renan's condemnation, as untenable, of the view that the first person plural of the later chapters of Acts is derived from some earlier document inserted by the author; on the ground that these portions are identical in style with the rest of the work.² On this the Bishop remarks, "Such an expression of opinion, proceeding from a not too conservative critic, is significant: and *this view of the authorship, I cannot doubt, will be the final verdict of the future, as it has been the unbroken tradition of the past*".³ Had Dr. Lightfoot lived to the present time, one feels confident that he would have seen no reason to revoke or modify this very decided expression of opinion; and one has the less hesitation in saying this, when one finds that several years later Dr. Sanday gives as his own conviction "that, except for the Pauline epistles, as strong a case can be made out for the traditional authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts as for that of any other book of the New Testament".⁴

But plenty has been written in the last few years in quite another direction.

On the other side of the Atlantic a series of New Testamen

¹ *Les Apôtres*, p. xviii.; English translation, p. 12. Trübner.

² *Les Évangiles*, p. 436: see also the Introduction to *Les Apôtres*; English translation, pp. 7, 8.

³ *Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion*, p. 291. Macmillan, 1889.

⁴ *Book by Book*, p. 397. Isbister, 1893. He expresses a similar opinion in his *Bampton Lectures*, p. 279.

Handbooks is being edited by Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago; and one of the first to be published was an *Introduction to the New Testament* by B. W. Bacon, D.D., Professor in Yale Divinity School. Apparently it is intended for the use of students at Universities and Theological Colleges; but it aims at getting *ahead* of what has been established or admitted as probable, and therefore is designedly speculative. The writer says in his Preface: "I have not been deterred from presenting views *which are peculiar to myself* when these seemed best to set forth the results toward which critical science is *tending*". On the question before us he is confident that the Third Gospel is not the work of S. Luke. The "we" sections of Acts are part of a Diary kept by a companion of S. Paul, "who can scarcely have been other than Luke". "But the first person of Luke i. 1-4, Acts i. 1 is not necessarily the Diarist." Then why did the writer of these two prefaces leave the "we" in the portions of the Diary which he embodied in his work? He shrank, we are told, "from obliterating the most fascinating characteristic of the Diary". Till some better explanation than this is found of the first person plural in these sections of Acts, sober criticism will retain the traditional and perfectly satisfactory explanation, that the "I" in the prefaces to Gospel and Acts is one of those who make up the "we" in the latter part of Acts; in other words, that the writer says "we" when he is present, and "they" when he is not. We are told that "we have need of more than the retention of the first person in the Diary sections, and a tradition, probably based upon it, to make Lucan authorship of the whole easy to accept": to which we reply that we *have* a good deal more than the retention of the first person (*e.g.*, a style, details, points of view, etc., entirely in harmony with what is known about S. Luke, as a physician, a man of culture, and the liberal-minded disciple of the liberal-minded Apostle), and that there is no evidence that the early and uniform tradition of the Lucan authorship grew out of the belief that the "we" sections were written by Luke. That theory would be, not indeed probable, but credible, if we had only Acts to deal

with. But there is the fact that, quite independently of Acts, the Third Gospel is unanimously attributed to S. Luke; and the evidence for the Gospel is at least as early as that for the second treatise. There is nothing to indicate that belief about Lucan authorship spread, first from the "we" sections to the whole of Acts, and then from Acts to the Third Gospel. The evidence of Irenæus, the Muratorian Fragment, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, is alike free from any such indication. It will suffice to quote once more the evidence of Irenæus. "Now if any one reject Luke, as if he did not know the truth, he will manifestly be casting out the Gospel of which he claims to be a disciple. For very many and specially necessary elements of the Gospel we know through him, as the generation of John, the history of Zacharias, the coming of the angel to Mary, the exclamation of Elizabeth, etc." (III. xiv. 3); which shows that Irenæus regarded the Lucan authorship as unquestionable. Some people might doubt whether Luke had the authority of an Evangelist; but no one could deny that he was the writer of the Gospel which bore his name. Dr. Bacon follows Jülicher¹ in talking of "the silence of Papias"; as if it were possible to determine from the few fragments of Papias that are extant what subjects he did not mention in the main portions which have perished! Lightfoot has shown that there is reason to believe that Papias did write about Luke;² and this belief is shared (on different grounds) not only by Dr. Salmon,³ whom Dr. Bacon would no doubt class with B. Weiss as "conservative," but by Hilgenfeld, who can scarcely be placed in such a category. Jülicher, it may be added, denies the Lucan authorship, on grounds which are either unproved assertions, as that the Third Gospel and Acts are equally remote in time from the subjects which they narrate, or may fairly be called purely subjective, as that the idealising of the Apostolic Age

¹ *Einleitung in das N. T.*, § 27, 3. Leipzig, 1894.

² *Supernatural Religion*, pp. 186, 200.

³ *Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the N. T.*, pp. 91 92, ed. 5. Murray, 1891.

which we find in Acts is not such as would be found in a contemporary enthusiast (p. 262).

This last criticism may be regarded as typical of the school and country from which it comes. Dr. Sanday has expressed regret that "work on the Acts has hitherto been almost entirely in the hands of the Germans; and although some progress has been made and more reasonable views are beginning to prevail, even in Germany there is at present something like a deadlock, and I strongly suspect that with the methods on which the inquiry has been pursued a deadlock is inevitable. . . . The fault seems to lie in the standard by which the writer of the book is judged. . . . It is an unreal and artificial standard, the standard of the nineteenth century rather than the first, of Germany rather than of Palestine, of the lamp and the study rather than of active life. . . . To burrow beneath the surface is a specialty of the Germans. It is one which they have exercised with excellent results. But it is another thing to require the gifts of a German Professor in an early Christian situated like the author of the Acts." ¹

One of the latest writers on the subject makes a similar and equally just remark on the kind of criticism which leads some modern writers to reject the Lucan authorship of the Third Gospel and of Acts, and to regard the writer of those books as an untrustworthy witness. To read this criticism, he says, "one would suppose that no reliance can be placed on a writer who does not reach a modern academic ideal, who does not attain to that fulness and accuracy which we expect nowadays from the conscientious writer of an historical or biographical monograph—an exhaustive collection of facts, and a critical use of authorities. But if we try to form a living picture of the possibilities of the writer, we shall look for, and I venture to say that we shall desire, no such laboured precision." He admits that in S. Luke's work we find a want of proportion which is not in accordance with

¹ *Inspiration ; The Bampton Lectures* for 1893, pp. 320, 321. Longmans, 1893.

modern literary ideas. And yet, "considering the area of events over which it travels, it gives a picture of the characters of the chief actors and of the progress of events infinitely more instinct with life and movement than a scientific presentation of the history could have done".¹ It is too often assumed that those whose critical studies lead them to conclusions which are in harmony with traditional views, are not only "conservative" but "apologetic," by which is meant (and sometimes stated) that they are prejudiced and obscurantist, if not consciously unfair; and that while professing to employ critical methods, they are really afraid of, and hostile to, everything of the kind. Unworthy charges of this kind can hardly be made against a writer whose candour and courage have produced the most elaborate and carefully weighed indictment of the genuineness of 2 Peter that has up to the present time been penned.²

But it is not necessary to go either to America or to Germany for criticism which contends that Luke the beloved physician is not the author of the writings which early and unanimous tradition has assigned to him. One may pass over with very brief mention the volume recently produced by Mr. P. C. Sense on the Gospel according to S. Luke. A writer who contends that not Jesus of Nazareth, or even Paul of Tarsus, but Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, is the real founder of Christianity, who assigns Codex B to the ninth century and is inclined to believe that Codex \aleph was really forged by Simonides in a monastery at Mount Athos about 1840, is not one who can claim a hearing from busy workers, whose impatience will give place to indignation when they find that again and again he thinks it fitting to bring accusations of dishonesty against such writers as Dr. Sanday and Bishop Westcott. His theory is that our S. Luke was published between A.D. 168 and 177, that it "was compiled from the writing used by the sect of the Marcionites, known as the Marcionite Gospel, and from the writings of minor apostles,

¹ *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900-1901*, by F. H. Chase, D.D. Macmillan, 1902.

² *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii., pp. 796-818.

known as the Apocryphal Gospels," and that the Marcionite Gospel was published in Pontus between A.D. 100 and 150, its author being Luke, Lucanus, or Lucianus the Marcionite.¹ There are other works on the subject far more worthy of serious consideration.

It will suffice to take two books of recent date, coming to us from America and Scotland, as fairly representative; one by Professor A. C. McGiffert,² the other by Mr. James Moffat.³ Dr. McGiffert seems to be impressed by the unanimous testimony of antiquity that Luke was the writer of the Third Gospel and of Acts, but he refuses to identify this Luke with the Luke known to history as the beloved physician, thrice mentioned by S. Paul. Luke, we are told, was no uncommon name, and towards the end of the first century there may have been many Christians called Luke. This position, which is not a common one, ignores the fact that some of the earliest witnesses expressly attribute these writings to Luke *the physician*; and, as Renan pointed out long ago, there is no sufficient reason why the Church of the second century should have assigned two such important works (the two longest in the New Testament) to so little known a person, except the fact that he was known to have been the author of them. This position also ignores, as do all denials of the Lucan authorship, the very substantial amount of confirmation which the traditional view receives from the medical language of S. Luke. Dr. Hobart's well-known book on the subject was published twenty years ago;⁴ and, so far as the present writer is aware, it has never been seriously answered. It is easy to pooh-pooh it; and it is not difficult to show that Dr. Hobart has considerably, perhaps very seriously, over-

¹ *The Origin of the Third Gospel, a Critical and Historical Enquiry*, by P. C. Sense, M.A. Williams and Norgate.

² *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, by Prof. A. C. McGiffert, Ph.D., D.D. T. & T. Clark, 1897.

³ *The Historical New Testament, a New Translation, with Prolegomena, etc.*, by James Moffat, B.D. T. & T. Clark, 1901.

⁴ *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, by the Rev. W. K. Hobart, LL.D. Longmans, 1882.

stated the case, by including in his long list of medical and quasi-medical words a large number which Luke would have been at least as likely to get from the Septuagint as from medical works or lectures. But even if nine-tenths of his instances were set aside as doubtful, the remaining tenth would form solid evidence that the writer of these two books was a medical man. It is perhaps partly because of its manifest exaggeration that Dr. Hobart's work has not made the impression which it should have done; and, if so, it is one more instance of the nemesis which sooner or later commonly overtakes exaggeration. But those who have convinced themselves, on whatever grounds, that the beloved physician is not the author of these two documents will not make their position secure until they have explained how it comes to pass that precisely these two books contain an amount of phraseology which is common to them and to Greek medical writers, such as cannot be found in any other writings in the New Testament. As J. Weiss remarks, this phraseology can best be explained as reminiscences of Hippocrates, Aretæus, Dioscorides, and as medical *termini technici* (Galen). Specially remarkable is the fact, to which Lagarde (*Psalt. juxta Hebr. Hieronymi*, 165 f.; cf. *Mittheilungen*, iii., 355) has called attention, that the Preface of Luke is a direct imitation of the opening words to the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides. Now, seeing that this medical writer comes from Anazarbus in Cilicia, and that according to Nicolai (*Gr. Lit. G.*, ii., 371) he wrote in the time of Nero, this tells decidedly in favour of the Gentile Christian Luke with his Cilician connexion. Cf. Hippocrates, *De Prisc. Med.*: *ὁκόσοι ἐπεχείρησαν περὶ ἰητρικῆς λέγειν ἢ γράφειν*.¹ Dr. Moffat's learned book contains plenty of information respecting German and other writers who, during the last ten or twelve years, have expressed views adverse to Luke's authorship of the Gospel, and it need not be repeated here. Whatever value these views may have in pointing out difficulties which require discussion, they fail to give an adequate explanation of the facts

¹ Meyer-Weiss, Gottingen, 1892, p. 274.

insisted on above: (1) the early and unanimous tradition; (2) the "we" sections in Acts; (3) the medical language and other features which confirm the primitive tradition.

But if America has given us two critics who refuse to assign to Luke the physician the two writings which primitive Christianity unhesitatingly declared to be his, Scotland again has produced an advocate of the first rank, who has not merely restated old and valid arguments with new vivacity and power, but has brought to bear upon the points of controversy a wealth of antiquarian and topographical knowledge, especially with regard to Asia Minor and Roman administration, which is possessed by no one else. By means of this knowledge, the reality of which is beyond dispute, Professor Ramsay endeavours to show that in the writings attributed to Luke we have the work of an historian, who is not only competent but excellent, who was a companion of S. Paul and a medical man, and who is unquestionably the Luke whom the Apostle mentions three times in his Epistles. With the trifling qualification that, in his enthusiasm, he perhaps sometimes rather overestimates the great merits of Luke as a writer of history, the argument as a whole comes as near to demonstration as arguments about historical problems can be expected to do. The task of those who on critical grounds dispute the Lucan authorship has been very seriously increased since his chief works appeared. The number of editions which have been called for is welcome evidence of the amount of attention which the volumes have already received; and it is to be expected that they will do a great deal towards introducing in some places, and confirming in others, reasonable criticism with regard to the discussion of a large number of New Testament problems.¹ The following quotation from one of the latest editions, and which therefore expresses his most mature views on the subject, will indicate that adverse criticism has not shaken the conviction which he

¹ *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, 6th ed., Hodder & Stoughton, 1900; *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 6th ed., Hodder & Stoughton, 1902; *Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A Study in the Credibility of St. Luke*, 1900.

slowly reached some years ago, when a patient investigation of the facts proved to him that the Tübingen theory, in spite of its ingenuity and apparent completeness, could not be maintained. It has to do with the question of the "we" sections, on which so much depends.

"The introduction of the first person at this striking point in the narrative (xvi. 10) must be intentional. There is no general statement like xiv. 22 ('we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God'), though even there the first person has a marked effect. Every one recognises here a distinct assertion that the author was present. Now the paragraph as a whole is carefully studied, and the sudden change from third to first person is a telling element in the total effect: if there is any passage in *Acts* which can be pressed close, it is this. It is almost universally recognised that the use of the first person in the sequel is intentional, marking that the author remained in Philippi when Paul went on, and that he rejoined the Apostle some years later on his return to Philippi. We must add that the precise point at which the first person form of narrative begins is also intentional; for, if Luke changes here at random from third to first person, it would be absurd to look for purpose in anything he says. The first person, when used in the narrative of xvi., xx., xxi., xxvii., xxviii., marks the companionship of Luke and Paul; and when we carry out this principle of interpretation consistently and minutely, it will prove an instructive guide. This is the nearest approach to personal reference that Luke permits himself; and he makes it subservient to his historical purpose by using it as a criterion of personal witness. Luke, therefore, entered into the drama of the *Acts* at Troas" (*Paul the Traveller*, pp. 200, 201, ed. 1902). In a later chapter he expresses his conviction that the "we" sections represent the contents of a Diary kept by Luke himself, supplemented by memory and subsequent research. This Diary and his notes of conversations with S. Paul and others were among the materials which he worked into his plan of the book (p. 384). To stigmatise a volume of this character as the work of a narrow apologist (see Schmiedel

in the *Theol. Literaturztg.*, 1897, No. 23) is very cheap criticism, and Dr. Knowling is quite right in deploring that Professor H. Holtzman should allow himself to speak of a portion of Professor Ramsay's work as "humbug" (*Theol. Literaturztg.*, 1899, No. 7). In contrast to such criticism as this it is a pleasure to quote Harnack's estimate of Professor Ramsay's other great work; that, in spite of some misleading details, "it contains the best contributions towards the explanation and vindication of the Acts" (*Chronologie der altchrist. Litt. bis Eusebius*, p. 250, Leipzig, 1897). What is required is that the history and archæology used by Ramsay to support the accuracy of S. Luke should be shown to be erroneous or irrelevant. Till that is done, and done not merely with regard to this or that detail, but with regard to the argument as a whole, the argument holds the field. How comes it that a writer of two treatises, which deal with a department of history in which the opportunities for slips and misstatements are perhaps unrivalled, *viz.*, the condition of Palestine and the organisation of the Roman Empire in the century which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, is found so often to be perfectly accurate, and can so very rarely be shown to be even probably in the wrong? If he was contemporary with part of his period, and had ample opportunities of conversing with those who were contemporary with other parts; if he was an eye-witness of some things which he relates, and knew persons who were eye-witnesses of a great deal more; then this extraordinary accuracy is intelligible, and no further explanation is needed, excepting that, as he himself tells us in the Preface to the Gospel, he took pains to be accurate. But a writer of the second century, writing long after the immense changes made by the destruction of Jerusalem, and having no personal experience of Palestine as it was in the time of Christ and of S. Paul, would (no matter what pains he took) constantly have made mistakes, if he had ventured to give the amount of detail which S. Luke gives both in his Gospel and in Acts.

The mention of Dr. Knowling naturally leads on to the mention of a group of English scholars, who are unanimous in maintaining that Luke the physician and the colleague of S.

Paul is the author of the Third Gospel and of Acts, and who have given the reasons for their convictions in writings that have appeared during the last twelve years. Bishop Lightfoot's view was quoted at the beginning of this article. We have his reasons for it drawn out in full in his article on "Acts" in the second edition of Vol. I. of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Murray, 1893). Contributors to the latest *Dictionary of the Bible*, that edited by Dr. Hastings (T. & T. Clark, 1898-1902), marshal the facts in a somewhat different way, but draw the same conclusion, and draw it without hesitation: the Rev. A. C. Headlam in the article on "Acts," and the Rev. L. J. M. Bebb in the article on "Luke". Other writers incidentally show that they accept this view as certain; Professor H. Cowan, in his article on "Matthias"; Professor Findlay in that on "Paul the Apostle"; and Dr. Lock in the article on "Timothy". If we turn to commentaries, the result is the same; *e.g.*, that of the Rev. J. Bond on the *Gospel according to St. Luke* (Macmillan, 1890), and that of the Rev. A. Wright on the same (Macmillan, 1890), or those on *Acts* by the Rev. F. Rendall (Macmillan, 1897), by the Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1901), a work of searching carefulness, and by R. B. Rackham (Methuen, 1901). Professor Knowling's work is part of the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, edited by Dr. Robertson Nicoll, while Mr. Rackham's is one of the *Oxford Commentaries*, edited by Dr. Lock. To these may be added *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by Saint Luke in the Acts*, by H. M. Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield (Longmans, 1897). Handbooks on the Synoptic Gospels, or on the Gospel narrative as a whole, reveal similar views; *e.g.*, *The Synoptic Problem*, by A. J. Jolley (Macmillan, 1893), *Manual of the Four Gospels*, by the Rev. T. H. Stokoe, D.D. (Oxford Press, 1901). During the same period the veteran scholar Dr. Ellicott has come forward once more to sum up the results of a lifelong study of the New Testament. In *The Authenticity of the Gospel of St. Luke* (S.P.C.K., 1892) he contends that it is scarcely possible that any one but the beloved physician can have written Acts, and therefore the Third Gospel also. Dr. F. W. Farrar, Dean

of Canterbury, is another labourer in the same field, who shows by repeated issues of his commentary on S. Luke¹ that his convictions respecting the authorship of this Gospel remain unchanged.

But among English workers there is perhaps no one who has done more to supply materials for a solid judgment on these subjects than Sir John Hawkins. The linguistic facts patiently collected and sifted in his *Horæ Synopticæ*² are of a very telling character, and are likely to influence those whose minds are capable of appreciating such facts and of drawing sound conclusions from them. The facts, as the title of the work indicates, are taken mainly from the first three Gospels, as "contributions to the study of the synoptic problem". But in order to do justice to the Gospel of S. Luke, Acts also is taken into account. In the statistics and observations respecting the Synoptic Gospels there is an important "special consideration of the 'we'-sections of Acts in relation to St. Luke's Gospel". The three theories are stated: (1) That the compiler of Acts used the diary of a companion of S. Paul and clumsily omitted to turn "we" into "they". This view has been sufficiently laughed out of court by Vogel (*Charakteristik des Lukes nach Sprache und Stil*, pp. 12, 13), as Dr. Knowling points out in his commentary (p. 5). (2) Zeller's view that the compiler wished "to identify himself with the older reporter" and "pass for one of Paul's companions," and therefore purposely left the first person plural in order "to recommend his production".³ The view of Dr. Bacon, quoted earlier in this article, is a toning down of that of Zeller. The writer of Acts did not wish to deceive his readers. He left the "we" unchanged, because he shrank from obliterating a very interesting feature in the Diary. As if all diaries did not have "we" in them! (3) That the writer was sometimes with S. Paul, and sometimes not, and that he naturally writes in the first person plural when

¹ *Cambridge Greek Testament*. Clay & Sons.

² Clarendon Press, 1899.

³ Zeller, *The Contents and Origin of the Acts*, vol. ii., p. 258. Williams & Norgate, 1876.

narrating events at which he had been present. Sir John Hawkins then gives tables of words, which are (a) peculiar to the "we" sections and the rest of Acts; (b) peculiar to the "we" sections and Luke, with or without the rest of Acts; (c) found in the "we" sections and very commonly either in Luke or in Acts or in both. These, especially the last, make very considerable totals. Of words and phrases that are characteristic of Luke there are as many (119) in the 97 verses which make up the "we" sections as in the 661 verses of Mark. Of the words and phrases characteristic of Matthew there are only 18 instances in the "we" sections. Of the words and phrases characteristic of Mark there are only 8 occurrences in the "we" sections. On the other hand, the number of words and phrases peculiar to the "we" sections is very small, and most of them are such as happen to be wanted there and nowhere else, as in the narrative of the shipwreck. Sir John Hawkins thus sums up: "There is an immense balance of internal and linguistic evidence in favour of the view that the original writer of these sections was the same person as the main author of the Acts and of the third Gospel, and, consequently, that the date of those books lies within the lifetime of a companion of S. Paul" (p. 154). Once more it may be urged that these facts must be faced; and one asks for an hypothesis which will explain (1) the primitive and unswerving tradition as to the authorship of these books; (2) the phenomena of the "we" sections; (3) the medical phraseology and cultivated style such as a physician would be likely to exhibit. The theory of Lucan authorship satisfies, and perfectly satisfies, every one of these conditions. The impossibility of finding a theory that is equally (or even tolerably) satisfactory is no doubt the explanation of what is contended for in this article; that, in the criticism to which the Third Gospel has been subjected during the last twelve or fifteen years, the theory of Lucan authorship still holds its own, and is likely to be triumphant in the end. But the roll of scholars who support it has by no means been exhausted, and it is necessary to mention one or two more names.

In this connexion it would be ungrateful, especially in the present writer, to fail to remember another veteran student of the New Testament, to whom all workers in that field, whether here or on the Continent or in America, have long been under immense obligations—the late Professor F. Godet of Neuchatel. He died in harness two years ago, while his *Introduction au Nouveau Testament* was passing through the press. Through the great kindness of Dr. Godet the parts of it were sent to the present writer as they came out. Oct. 3, 1900, he sent from his deathbed a sheet of paper with the names of recipient and donor on it, to be fastened into the bound volume; and Oct. 29 he went to his rest. The fourth and last chapter in the parts thus issued deals with the Gospel according to S. Luke. In it the venerable author, at the end of a long discussion, expresses his conviction that “the Third Gospel and the Acts have one and the same author. This author is the physician Luke, fellow-worker of Paul” (p. 653). Nor, on the Continent, is the great Swiss scholar alone in contending for this conclusion. Recent attacks on the Lucan authorship have entirely failed to shake the convictions of the German veteran, Zahn, as readers of his *Einleitung* know. In this he has the support of Nösgen (*Geschichte Jesu Christi*, p. 53, München, 1891; *Geschichte der Apostolischen Verkündigung*, p. 391, 1893) and, to mention only one more German, whose works are now of world-wide reputation, of F. Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, pp. 1-3, Göttingen, 1895; *Euangelium secundum Lucam, Præfatio*, Lipsiæ, 1897). It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that these scholars are as convinced as Lightfoot and Westcott were, and as Dr. Salmon still is, that, on the strictest critical grounds, the primitive tradition respecting the authorship of the Third Gospel and of Acts can and must be maintained.

There is one theory respecting S. Luke's Gospel which really does seem to be dead, and, if it is dead, we may say without regret, *requiescat*; and that is the view advocated by the author of *Supernatural Religion* and others, that in Marcion's Gospel, the contents of which are fairly exactly known to us from Tertullian and Epiphanius, we have the genuine

Luke, and that the Canonical Gospel has been largely augmented—to the extent of over 300 verses—by a later hand. The arguments of Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, and Sanday seem to have killed this view. Bishop Lightfoot regarded Dr. Sanday's article in the *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1875, as "unanswerable" (*On Supernatural Religion*, p. 186).

With regard to the date of the publication of the Third Gospel there is perhaps a less decided tendency towards one view than with regard to the authorship. Both those who accept the Lucan authorship and those who deny it differ a good deal as to the period in which the book was written. But, on the whole, those who accept take the 33 years from A.D. 57 to 90, while those who deny take the 33 years from A.D. 90 to 123. If there is any tendency towards unanimity, it is certainly in this case not towards the traditional view. In spite of the powerful support of Blass (*Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 36 ff.), the early date does not seem to be gaining adherents,¹ and the large majority of scholars are agreed in placing the time of publication at any rate later than A.D. 70. To place it as late as 95 is not necessarily to deny that Luke the physician wrote it: a companion of S. Paul may easily have lived as late as that. But there is perhaps no one who believes that S. Luke is the author and yet advocates so late a date. What could have induced him to put off writing for so long? And under the fire of Diocletian's persecution could he, or any one, have written in such a spirit of indifference, or even friendliness, towards the Roman government? Again, could he, or any one, have written in 95 or later, and yet have shown no knowledge of the Epistles of S. Paul? Contrast the knowledge of them exhibited in the Epistle of Barnabas, in Clement of Rome, in Ignatius, and in Polycarp. And yet neither in S. Luke nor in Acts is there a single passage which *proves* that the writer was acquainted with any one of the Pauline Epistles. He neither quotes any of them, nor mentions any of them. Opinion is not unanimous as to whether the writer of Acts did know S. Paul's letters and

¹ Rackham is on the same side for Acts.

make any use of them as sources of information. But it is somewhat strange that writers who think that he did not use them should yet date Acts as of the second century; and to suppose that he did not use S. Paul and did use Josephus is also extraordinary. Yet agreement within narrow limits is not hopeless; and perhaps in another twelve years it will be found that a date between A.D. 78 and 93 is accepted by most critics.

There is less ground for expecting unanimity as to the interval between S. Luke's first and second treatise: there is so very little evidence either way. It may be true, as Harnack suggests, that when Luke finished his Gospel he had no idea of writing anything more: there is nothing in either the Preface or the concluding words to show that he did. It may also be true, that, when he began the second treatise, he had some idea of writing a third, whether or no *πρῶτον λόγον* as a description of the Gospel is any indication of such intention. But if both these points could be established, we should still know nothing as to the amount of time which elapsed between the conclusion of the Gospel and the commencement of Acts. Nor is the question of much moment. The important question for criticism to decide is whether in these two works we are reading the words of an intimate associate of S. Paul; and towards agreement on that point conclusions (especially among British scholars) seem to be tending. Those who, like Hahn, assign the two books to Silas, or, like Dr. Selwyn, identify Luke with Silas and Tertius, support this view. What Dr. Chase has already given us on the subject (see above) leads us to wish for as early an appearance as may be of his much-needed treatment of Acts in the *International Critical Commentary*. Meanwhile Dr. Knowling supplies much excellent help, especially for those to whom works written in German are of no service.

At the end of a long article there is not much room for discussing the theory that there were two editions, made by Luke himself, both of his Gospel and of Acts: a theory which was suggested early in the eighteenth century by Jean Leclerc, was treated as quite possible by Bishop Lightfoot,

and is now made famous by the elaborate advocacy of Blass. Blass has won the support of Dr. Salmon and of Nestle; and the theory, which no doubt has features of great attractiveness, seems to be looked upon with more or less favour by various writers, and perhaps on the whole is gaining ground. If the present writer is to express his conviction, it is that this theory will not stand the test of minute and detailed criticism, and will have to be abandoned. It fits a considerable number of striking differences of reading remarkably well. But there is a greater number of less striking variations that it does not fit at all; and there are some which tell quite in the opposite direction. An adequate test would involve a very long and dry investigation; but some useful classifications of readings have been made in *Texte und Untersuchungen* by Weiss, in *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte*, which was noticed in the *Critical Review*, Oct. 1898 (see also Moulton on the *Acta Apostolorum* of Blass in the *Crit. Rev.* of Jan. 1898). More recently Dr. Kenyon has made some valuable criticisms in his *Handbook of Textual Criticism* (pp. 291 ff.). The discussion will probably end in increased respect being paid to the δ -text in general; but that the δ -text in Luke represents a later edition of the Gospel made by the Evangelist, and that the δ -text in Acts represent a rough copy of the treatise made by Luke, will probably be found to be a brilliant but untenable conjecture.

The above paper was written before the writer had seen the six *St. Margaret Lectures* for 1902 on the "Criticism of the New Testament" by six of our leading scholars (Murray, 1902). They are a confirmation of the line taken in this paper: see especially pp. 19, 120, 161, 162, 219, 220.

A. PLUMMER.

Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.

Von Dr. Albert Hauck, Professor in Leipzig. Vierter Teil. Die Hohenstaufenzeit. I. Hälfte. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 416. Price 7s. net.

Die Versagung der kirchlichen Bestattungsfeier, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und gegenwärtige Bedeutung.

Von W. Thümmel, as. o. Professor der Theologie in Jena. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 196. Price 3s. net.

The Elizabethan Prayer-Book and Ornaments, with an Appendix of Documents.

By Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiii. + 288. Price 5s.

THE first chapter of this part of Professor Hauck's History deals with the circumstances of the Church in Germany in the beginning of the twelfth century. The account is detailed and graphic; and one reads that competent and educated preachers were few in number, and that preachers had difficulties, not unknown in modern times, in arresting the attention of hearers. The following words might almost describe the experience of a preacher of the present day: "Bei Honorius z. B. ist die Rücksicht auf die weltlichen Hörer, auf ihre Verhältnisse und ihre Schwächen ganz gewöhnlich. Reiche und Arme, Richter und Ritter, Krämer und Bauern sind in der Kirche versammelt; der Prediger weiss, dass sie zum Teil weite Wege haben, er muss sich kurz fassen, um sie nicht zu ermüden. . . . In Winter ist es bitter kalt in der Kirche; auch darauf wird Rücksicht genommen. Dass eine Rede, die langweilt, ihren Zweck verfehlt, weiss Honorius wohl; deshalb sucht er die Aufmerksamkeit durch allerlei Zwischenbemerkungen wach zu erhalten, die sich

direkt auf die Hörer und ihre Verhältnisse beziehen." The second chapter, "Die Beseitigung des königlichen Einflusses und das päpstliche Regiment in der Kirche," brings the reader to the period when, instead of an emperor Henry IV. furiously opposing a strong-willed Hildebrand, or of a still more powerful Henry V. coercing a Paschal II., there reigned an emperor Lothar II., who was simply the minion of the Pope. A few years brought to an end, by the death of Lothar, the supremacy of Rome over the Church in Germany; and though Conrad III. left but a slight impress on the history of that Church he prepared the way for the great Barbarossa. When Conrad died, as Professor Hauck says, "Ein neuer Akt in dem grossen Spiel von Kaisertum und Papsttum konnte beginnen," Frederick Barbarossa marked a reaction. Henry IV. had been overcome by Hildebrand, Henry V. had suffered by the Concordat of Worms, and Lothar II. had been the servant of Rome. Frederick stood for no mere opposition or enmity to a Pope. He sought to make his empire the Holy Roman empire, a divine institution, free in origin and in rule from the Church. With clear understanding and historical insight Professor Hauck narrates the events of Frederick's reign. His descriptions from time to time are vivid, as may be seen from his words regarding Arnold of Brescia: "Er selbst lebte als ein echter Nachfolger des armen Jesus; man sah ihn in den schlichtesten Gewändern, er war ein Meister im Fasten, mit unvergleichlichem Eifer bohrte er sich in das Studium der heiligen Schrift ein. Er fand in ihr Dasselbe was schon Arianer begeistert hatte: das reine, hehre Bild der Urgemeinde, die Religion und nicht Gold, Frömmigkeit und nicht Herrschaft ihr eigen nannte. Was ihn erfüllte, verkündigte er in seinen Predigten: er sprach mit dem Feuer des geborenen Redners und mit der Heftigkeit des Mannes, der eine verkannte, verleugnete Wahrheit vertritt."

In the fourth chapter an account is given of the new religious orders which marked the religious revival of the twelfth century. The rise of the Mendicants, which belongs to the thirteenth century, is also traced; and the effect of the new orders on the German Church is shown. In describing

Francis the writer says: "Als er begann, von einem der schönen Bergstädtlein Umbriens zum anderen wandernd, Busse und Frieden, das Reich Gottes und die Sündenvergebung zu verkündigen, dachte er nicht einen Orden zu gründen; auch hat er sicher davon nichts gewusst, dass hundert Jahre vorher ein deutscher Kleriker den gleichen Gedanken gehabt hatte wie er, und dass die mangelnde Zustimmung der Kirche sein Unternehmen bald zum Stillstand gebracht hatte. Man mag bezweifeln, ob er selbst davon wusste, dass einige Jahrzehnte früher ein französischer Kaufmann in Lyon das Gleiche wollte, und dass der Widerspruch der Kirche ihn zum Ketzer gemacht hatte." Francis, as his own acts afterwards proved, intended to found no order; and it may be that he was ignorant of the German who had walked in the ways of poverty. But why should he not have known of Waldo? The mother of Francis seems to have been French, and his father constantly travelled into France. Francis, the rich merchant's son, was not brought up in ignorance of the world; and though he nowhere confesses that he was influenced by the practices of the Waldensians, since he would thereby have admitted that there was good in heretics, it does not follow that he knew nothing about them.

This volume of Professor Hauck's History deals with a period of notable men and significant events, and the writer brings to his work learning and judgment.

An essay on the Church's control of burial rites seems at first sight to be a mere excursion into a by-path of history. The subject, however, is of importance in connexion with the Church's power over its members, and in relation to the Papal struggle for supremacy. Gregory the Great related a story of the time when he was abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew. Three pieces of gold were found in the possession of a dying monk, and the abbot in anger at the monk's broken vow of poverty ordered the consolations of religion to be withheld from the man, and his body after death to be cast out, without funeral rites. Gregory relented after the death, and

arranged that the Eucharist should be offered during thirty days for the salvation of the monk, who, as was revealed in a vision, was eventually saved. The story illustrates the power of the Church over its members. Legend helped to intensify this power. In the eleventh century, at a Council held at Limoges, the Bishop of Cahors told how heaven approved of his refusal of burial rites to a despoiler of the Church. The friends of the dead knight, to whom these rites were refused, buried his body in consecrated ground without the help of a priest. Next morning, after this irregular burial, the naked body was discovered outside the cemetery, while the wrappings were found in the grave. Five times the burial was repeated, and five times the body was cast out of the grave by the interference of heaven. A legend of this kind, though but a legend, helped to make priestly control a spiritual tyranny. The importance of the subject of this essay may be further seen from the treatment of the body of the wilful and unfortunate Henry IV., who sought by thwarting the stubborn Hildebrand to check the advancing supremacy of the Church over the State.

In the preface Professor Thümmel indicates that his work is an essay in the great subject of excommunication; and, as the title indicates, he describes the historical development of the custom of refusing burial rites, and examines the significance of that custom at the present time. There is, as might be expected from a German professor, an inquiry into pre-Christian experience, and the first section of the first part is named: "Versagung oder Verminderung der Bestattungsfeier bei Griechen, Römern und Hebräern". Dealing with the Jews the writer notes the fact that burial was a duty placed on the nearest relations or associates of the dead, and pointing to Rizpah (2 Sam. xxi. 10) names her "die hebräische Antigone". The last part of the historical inquiry deals with the present day—"das heutige Verfahren in der römisch-katholischen, griechisch-orthodoxen und anglikanischen Kirche". The usage of the English Church is explained in connexion with the instruction in the Prayer-book that the office is not to be used "for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid

violent hands upon themselves". Speaking of the Greek Church, Professor Thümmel refers to the threat which has been held out to Count Tolstoi, and draws attention to the public interest in this case, and to the newspaper correspondence respecting it. He wisely says that a Christian and spiritual writer like Tolstoi cannot belong to the dead Russian Church, and that public opinion is wrong in irritating itself on the intolerance of this Church. He adds: "Und es ist schon ein evangelischer Zug, dass die russische Kirche nur mit einer geistlichen Versagung gestraft hat und nicht mit der Knute der Staatsgewalt, wiewohl diese evangelische Geistigkeit nur dem Umstande zu danken sein wird, dass es sich um einen Grafen und um einen Tolstoi handelte".

In the second part of the book the writer seeks to answer such questions as "Ob die Versagung der kirchlichen Bestattungsfeier ein Bestandteil der kirchlichen Ausschliessung ist?" and deals with such subjects as the classes to which funeral rites are denied.

The book is the work of a competent writer who has made an interesting and exhaustive study of his subject, and has contrived to present his results in a concise form.

In the summer of 1901 Dr. Gee delivered three lectures at Oxford, which after revision are now published in this volume. The subject as here discussed is of antiquarian interest, but the treatment of it illustrates the use and the need of the scientific method. Every worker in history discovers that there are literary artists like Macaulay or Froude who make blunders, even apart from their prejudices; and that there are antiquarians, like Sir Walter Scott, with a great reputation and also a wonderful capacity for erring in details. Somehow the men who have discovered documents, men like Strype of the "Annals," have been so generally recognised as authorities that their conclusions have been too often allowed to pass without challenge. Dr. Gee, by the use of the scientific method, which is simply the careful separation of fact from fiction or theory, shows how Strype's account of

the revision of the prayer-book at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign can no longer, in spite of the years during which it has been accepted, be recognised as history.

Strype discovered an undated document, written by Guest, who lived to be Bishop of Rochester, and this document he published in the "Annals". He examined the contents, after a fashion; and concluded not only that it referred to the revision of the prayer-book in 1559, but also that it showed that Guest was the chief reviser, and that in it, the document, there was a justification of the revision. Strype created a reputation for Guest; and in the nineteenth century one of the bishop's descendants wrote his Life, in which he described him as "the principal compiler of the liturgy of the Church of England established at the time of the Reformation". This descendant, Mr. Dugdale, called on seats of learning and ecclesiastical establishments "to search with diligence and avidity the arena of their respective depositories," to "examine their munimental manuscripts," and "should their labours be attended with success, communicate their contents to the world". With a suggestion of humour Dr. Gee quotes these words and, obeying the injunctions, destroys the theory or story that Guest was the chief reviser of the Elizabethan prayer-book. It is impossible to follow here in detail Dr. Gee's examination of Guest's document, which he shows cannot be accepted without the gravest doubt, as referring to the revision in 1559. Guest, to take one detail as an example, wrote, "Though this is the old use of the Church to communicate standing, yet because it is taken of some by itself to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful, it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other". Strype, with his theory of Guest as a reviser, said that the posture "was left indifferent in the book by the divines"; and added, "But the parliament, I suppose, made a change here, enjoining the ancient posture of kneeling, as was in the old book". Dr. Gee shows that those "who prepared the prayer-book in 1559 were not likely to raise any discussion on this question. Not one of them is known to have been in favour of standing reception." He adds: "But the

kneeling controversy is a very prominent matter in the year 1552 ”.

Having demonstrated that the “current story of the revision,” as Strype’s account is styled, is not entitled to be accepted as historical, Dr. Gee proceeds to reconstruct the story from such facts as he counts real. The book, as said, is an illustration of the use and need of the scientific method in history ; and is to be commended for its lucidity and thoroughness.

JOHN HERKLESS.

The Supreme Leader. A Study of the Nature and Work of the Holy Spirit. By FRANCIS B. DENIO, D.D. Boston: Pilgrim Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 264. Price \$1.25.

WE have by no means too many books on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. We welcome an addition to the literature of that important subject by Professor Francis B. Denio of Bangor Theological Seminary. His book consists of four studies dealing in succession with the biblical teaching respecting the Spirit of God, what Christians have learned from thought and experience, the work and person of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit and Christian life and experience. The first of these four studies suffers from its compression. It touches the main points, but fails to cover all that belongs to so large and difficult an inquiry. It gives a very meagre account of the doctrine of the Spirit in the intermediate literature of Judaism. In the second study we have the condensed results of a wide extent of reading, covering the development of thought on the subject from the beginnings of the Church and theology on to the nineteenth century. Professor Denio does ample justice to the Reformers and the Puritans. "The Reformers and the Puritans together," he tells us, "extended the boundaries of recognised truth respecting the Holy Spirit so as to comprehend all that has since been taught on the subject." He adds that this "does not mean that there has been no advance since 1700 in the recognition of truth, for what had been taught in secret has since been proclaimed from the housetop, and accepted in the street". There is an interesting chapter on "The Witness of the Spirit," in which the views of Baxter, Owen, John Wesley, and others are briefly stated. The more recent views of the Hegelians, Schleiermacher, and others are also shortly noticed. Then come important statements on the Spirit as God immanent in the world, as the Agent in

the Prophetic work of Christ, as a Person in the Deity, etc. The book concludes with an exposition of the need of the Spirit for effective Christian service, the ways in which He makes Christian service effective, the evidence of His presence, and the conditions of His operation in human life. The volume is one that deserves study. It deals with many important questions in a concise, well-informed and suggestive manner. It has much that deserves consideration and that will repay study.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Evolution and its Bearing on Religions. By A. J. DADSON.
With five Plates. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.,
1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 268. Price 2s. 6d.

Mr. A. J. Dadson's volume is written in the same spirit as his *Evolution and Religion*, which appeared in 1893. It is indeed that book with considerable changes. The chapters on Evolution have been revised in the light of the increased knowledge of recent years, and the rest has been so far rewritten that the author can claim for the volume now before us that it is "substantially a new book". Mr. Dadson reviews the creeds of the past and declares the effect of the growth of knowledge on them. This he thinks has been in the direction of "disclosing their unsubstantial and erroneous character, though they were matters of the deepest interest to those generations". His position is clearly stated in these terms: "To eliminate superstition and supernaturalism as a creed is one of the aids, perhaps the greatest, to intellectual growth and purity of mind, on which welfare and progress depend. This is the justification for seeking to rationalise religious belief, by subjecting it to the judgment of reason, which is the only reliable guide given to man." After a series of brief chapters in which he discusses ancient evolutionary thought, rudimentary organs, Darwin's law, the soul, the evolution of religious ideas, etc., and traces the story of civilisation from the decadence of Rome on to the Reformation, he comes finally to the subject of modern Christianity. Here he says some sharp things about all the churches,

especially the Church of Rome, the history of which is a "sad satire on human intelligence". He brings his review of things so far up to date as to include in it Mr. Handley's book on *The Fatal Opulence of Bishops*. His conclusion is that "every explanation which man formulates in precise terms of his relation to God will in time die; every god he makes, he will in due course unmake. God is inconceivable." Yet we need not fear that *religion* will die. Why? Because "Mr. Herbert Spencer's view will live for ever, as long at least as man is a tenant of this planet".

The book is not without its elements of interest, and its glimpses of truth. Its assertions, however, are often far-fetched, and it gives us precisely what we should expect from its assumed view-point. Marvellous indeed is Mr. Dadson's faith—in Mr. Herbert Spencer.

Histoire de l'Université de Genève. Par CHARLES BORGEAUD, Professeur aux Facultés de Droit et des Lettres. L'Académie de Calvin, 1559-1798. Avec trente portraits hors texte et de nombreuses reproductions de documents. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices du Sénat universitaire et de la Société académique. Genève: Georg & Co., Libraires de l'université, 1900. 4to, pp. xii. + 662.

In his *History of the University of Geneva*, Professor Borgeaud presents us with a work of sumptuous form, and great and varied interest. The preparation and publication of this splendid volume are due, as is explained in the preface, to the initiative of the Academic Society of Geneva—an association of friends of the University who think that the glorious past of a country imposes duties upon its children, and that its great schools of learning have special claims upon their regard. The work belongs to a class of which we should be glad to have more examples—historical monuments, prepared with scholarly pains, with filial love, and with no grudging of cost—to the honour of great Institutions. It represents much painstaking research, the examination of many valuable documents, and the appreciative use of the

considerable literature of recent as well as of older date bearing more or less directly on the history of learning and academic effort in Geneva.

Professor Borgeaud deals first with the work of Calvin in this department of his varied activity, with the movement for the reform of studies in the sixteenth century and his part in that, with the project of a college, with the Academy of Lausanne and the *Leges Academiae Genevensis*. A chapter which is full of interest is devoted to the inauguration of the "University and College" of Geneva, 5th June, 1559. Then we have brief sketches of the first teachers, Chevalier, Bérauld, Tagat, etc., and the inaugural publications. This part of the volume closes appropriately with an estimate of the services rendered by Calvin. It concludes thus: "Lorsque Calvin en achevé sa tâche, il avait assuré l'avenir de Genève, pour autant que le génie d'un homme peut fonder en faisant d'elle, tout ensemble, une église, une école et une forteresse. Ce fut la première place de la liberté, dans les temps modernes. Par elle, plus que par ses écrits, celui qui l'avait plantée au cœur de la vieille Europe, fut le père spirituel de Coligny, de Guillaume le Taciturne et d'Olivier Cromwell."

The second division of the book, which has the title *Théodore de Bèze*, gives accounts of what was done in these early times for Law and Medicine, of the provision of Chairs in Literature, of the erection of the second Chair of Theology, etc. Here we get short but vivid sketches of events like the ravages of the pestilence in 1567-72, and of men like Zanchius, Thomas Cartwright, Andrew Melville, Joseph Scaliger, Antoine de la Faye, Charles Perrot, and others. Then follows an excellent estimate of Beza and his services. The third division of the work has the title of *The Reign of Theology*. It introduces us to men like Diodati, Théodore Tronchin, Bénédicte Turretin, Morus, Chouet, Weguelin, François Turretin, Louis Tronchin, etc., and recounts the main particulars of the first rupture between the orthodox theologians and the liberal. The fourth division, which is entitled *Le Siècle des Philosophes*, is occupied with the story of the entrance of new philosophical ideas, the work of

philosophical divines such as Bénédict Pictet and Jean Alphonse Turretin, the struggle with Voltaire, the progress of scientific and historical studies, the *savants* from Jalabert to de Saussure. It closes with a chapter on the Revolution.

The narrative is full of interest all along. Much useful and learned matter is given in footnotes. There are some valuable appendices in which important documents are given *in extenso*, together with full lists of professors from Calvin to Antoine Duvillard (1842), and of pretors elected between 1618 and 1798. There are careful reproductions of the signatures of students, etc. The book is further adorned by a multitude of illustrations—portraits of Calvin, Beza, Scaliger, Godefroi, Tronchin, Chouet, Turretin, Pictet, Vernet, and other celebrities, pictures of notable buildings, monuments, etc. Nothing is spared to make the book superb in form, and worthy of its subject externally as well as internally. It reflects great credit on its projectors, its author, and its publishers.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Das Buch Jeremia erklärt.

*Von D. Bernhard Duhm, ord. Professor der Theologie in Basel.
(Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von Karl Marti; Abteilung xi.). Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1901. Large 8vo, pp. xxiii. + 391. Price M.6.80.*

IN this new volume of Marti's Old Testament commentary, Professor Duhm has given us a companion-work to his great commentary on Isaiah. The surprisingly unequal value of the several sections of the book of Jeremiah had led him, following up the researches of Stade, Smend, and others, to investigate the genuineness of much of the book which he had not previously called in question. His general conclusion is that only when the prophet is judged by the poetic sections of the book, which are all that can be reckoned to him, can his work be estimated aright, and he himself as a man, as writer and as prophet be understood—so far, that is, as one can speak of understanding a great personality at all.

The sketch of Jeremiah's life shows us at the outset Duhm's unbounded reverence and esteem for the prophet, and is marked at some points by more regard to the historicity of the biographical sections of the book than appears in some other recent criticism. The narrative of chap. xxxvi. is substantially accepted, and also the tradition (xliii. 5 f.) that Jeremiah was compelled to settle in Egypt after the fall of Jerusalem in 586. On the other hand, Jeremiah is, strictly speaking, no adherent of the Deuteronomic school or party: rather does he stand aloof or even opposed to their theory and programme, and those parts of the book which exhibit affinities with the Deuteronomic spirit are to be transferred to the account of the editors. He may, too, have very well spoken some word, upon which a later writer has based the disclaimer of sacrifice (vii. 21-26), but the passage as we read it is not his. Nor is he the prophet of the New Covenant

(xxx. 31-34), though personally he stood nearer the conception of what Christian theology means by that than the author of those famous but misunderstood verses.

Chaps. i.-xxv. may once have existed separately, and contain the genuine utterances of Jeremiah, which make up almost the half of this section. No chapter is free from editorial remarks, introducing and connecting the several poems, and in particular, chaps. i., vii., x., xi., xvi., xviii., xix., xxi., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., are in whole or in great part not the work of Jeremiah but of the redactors. Embedded in the late chaps. xxx., xxxi., which had perhaps once stood inside the collection i.-xxv., are three or four further poems from Jeremiah's pen. We have in all about sixty short poems, making up about one-fifth of the whole book of Jeremiah. These poems are written in verse of uniform measure, *viz.*, four lines, each couplet containing alternately three and two accented words. Otherwise expressed, each couplet, when considered as a unit, has five rhythmical beats, the so-called pentameter or Qinah measure. With the exception of the letter to the exiles, preserved in chap. xxix., Duhm does not consider that Jeremiah wrote any prose which has come down to us. His writings fall between 626-586: he probably wrote nothing after the destruction of the nation.

Duhm's admiration for Jeremiah extends in some measure to Baruch, the faithful follower of the great prophet. In chaps. xxvi.-xxix. and xxxii.-xlv. are contained what were doubtless the most important sections of Baruch's account of the prophet's life. This biography has affinities with the historical literature of the Old Testament, and seems to have circulated for centuries as an independent work. Parts of it have been interwoven with the poems of Jeremiah, but neither all at one time, nor according to any fixed plan. The process of transferring them did not take place without a great deal of editorial freedom, rewriting and adapting them to suit their new position. In choosing these sections, the emphasis was laid on the prophet's words, as thus amplified by the editors, long addresses being assigned to

him such as, in fact, he never could have delivered. It would seem that Baruch's narrative was confined to the events of Jehoiakim's reign onwards, of which he had personal knowledge and experience. The excerpts from Baruch make up a section of the book almost but not quite so large as the section due to Jeremiah himself.

The bulk of the sections to be assigned to other writers is much greater than the bulk of the sections due to Jeremiah and his biographer together. These scribes aimed at furnishing the Jewish community with a text-book of religious teaching and edification; most of the additions, therefore, are of a sermon-like character, occasionally poetic and rhetorical, and filled with the usual stereotyped formulas, which introduce or close the words of Jahve to the prophets. The ideas and needs of their own times have more interest for them than close adherence to the historical situation of Jeremiah. Another class of these additions consists of Midrashic stories about Jeremiah (*cf.* chap. xiii. 1-14) which remind one of the legends of the prophets, examples of which are met with elsewhere (1 Kings xiii., Jonah). Glaring descriptions of the sins of the pre-exilic Israelites, which their pious descendants are never weary of confessing, forming as they do the explanation of the present fortunes of the people, and serving as warning against the repetition of similar offences, make up a good part of the homiletic additions to the book; whilst other sections open up consolatory views for Israel (xxx., xxxi.) or at least give the counterpart to Israel's suffering in pictures of the destruction of their heathen foes (xlvi.-li.). Of these writers in general Duhm has a very poor opinion. Any value they have is as a reflection of the time when they lived and wrote, but the Jeremiah they present is not the prophet as we know him from his own and Baruch's writings. He is only the embodiment of the ideas of what, in the view of the later Judaism, a prophet must have been. Such writers have no interest in history, but only in theology, and (what is of less importance) their theology is not even good. They are little better, in fact, than many modern preachers who, having lost all touch with reality, seek only

to produce an effect by exaggeration. They probably belonged to the lower classes (p. xix., where 19, 21 f. should be 17, 21 f.) who had no proper conception of how the upper classes lived. It is they, of course, who are to be credited with those dreadful maledictions on Jeremiah's opponents. To them it is due that from a literary point of view the book of Jeremiah stands much below the other prophetic writings, including even Daniel and Jonah. They borrow from the older writers, but often with little intelligence. Their chief sources are Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah. A close connexion exists between them and the late insertions in Isaiah and the minor prophets. The latest additions are the Messianic passages (xxiii. 5-8; xxxiii. 14-18) and the oracles against the heathen, some verses being even later than the translation of the book into Greek. They are either inserted as supplements to earlier interpolations which had already found a place in chaps. i.-xxv., or are made into collections (xxx., xxxi., xlvi.-li.) which cannot have come into existence before the end of the second century B.C. The text of the book can hardly, in fact, be said to have ever existed in a complete or fixed form. The Greek translators seem to have aimed at abbreviation and simplification of the text before them; the Massoretic text, on the other hand, seems to have come to us from manuscripts containing, especially in the second half of the book, unnecessary repetitions and amplifications, often at the cost of clearness. These manuscripts exhibit, too, some final traces of editorial activity. The present Hebrew order of the oracles against the heathen may, perhaps, be reckoned such. But to dispute which is its original and proper place would only have a meaning if the book in other respects were arranged on any rational principle.

It is obvious that we are here confronted with the same kind of problems that Duhm has presented us with in his earlier commentaries. There are the old difficulties regarding the very late dates to which so much of the book is assigned, and to which we used to think the history of the canon itself placed insuperable barriers. While we know so little

about the canon that the possibility of Duhm's chronology must be granted, it is equally possible to doubt whether it be really necessary to relegate all Messianic and eschatological passages in the prophets to the second century. And one distrusts the endless partition of small sections of Old Testament books and their relegation to different authors and redactors, widely separated from one another in time, though it cannot be concealed that the unconnected and fragmentary condition of the text of the Hebrew writers often defies *bonâ fide* explanation on any other lines. Further, there are signs that a regard for rhythm and strophical arrangement—if, out of regard to accuracy, we may not say "metre"—is likely soon to play a much greater part in the criticism of the text of the Old Testament than was considered allowable not so many years ago. The feeling is growing that at least "there may be something in it". Of course there is room in all this for much that is subjective and arbitrary, and Duhm certainly takes advantage of his liberty. Some features in his conception of the prophet and his work which would need to be very carefully considered before being accepted have been incidentally referred to. In his arrangement of the poems Duhm has reached a high degree of success: what will strike one as more doubtful is the view that if a passage is in plain prose, or in verse not of the "Qinah" measure, it is, *ipso facto*, not Jeremiah's. However that may be, Old Testament students will find every page of this book instructive for criticism and exposition of the text and the history of religion. We feel that we are in the hands of one who can interpret Isaiah and Jeremiah, because he understands what religion is. Doubtless the English reader who had not read Professor N. Schmidt's article on the Book of Jeremiah in the *New World* for 1900, and who still attaches any value to Jewish tradition, is sure to be frequently shocked. At least he will not deny that many things in Duhm would have pleased him better if they had been expressed with infinitely less of the vituperation which is poured out upon the dulness and ignorance of ancient editors and scribes.

T. WALKER.

Zur Undogmatischen Glaubenslehre.

Vorträge und Abhandlungen von Otto Dreyer. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1901. Pp. v. + 156. Price 2s.

OTTO DREYER died in 1900, and papers published by him in his lifetime in different periodicals are here collected and issued under a title that expresses the central thought around which they may be grouped. The subjects are: "The Distinctive Mark by which Religious Truth is known," "Religious Language and the Importance of an Understanding of it for Ecclesiastical Unity," "The Confessional Question," "The Faith-Doctrine of Undogmatic Christianity," "The Dogma of the Person of Christ and its Religious Significance," "In what way is Instruction in Christianity to be given so as to awaken a Living Faith in the Church of the present day?"

The author belonged to the liberal party in the Lutheran Church, and fourteen years ago published a book on "Undogmatic Christianity," which made a great stir and has since passed through four editions. These papers are a defence and elucidation of the views there advocated, and will be read with deep interest by those who were impressed by that brilliant essay.

Dreyer was convinced that the hope for religion in the future lay in the general recognition by the Church of the distinction between faith and dogma, between religious truth and its formulated expression in theological dogma. "Dogmas are a product of the reflection of different ages of the Church upon the religious content of Christianity, and are reached by the scientific methods of each age. They contain the eternal truth of faith, but a dogma can never be a perfect expression of eternal truth because it partakes of the fluctuating and defective world of conceptions. Not a single dogma is divinely revealed: they are all the result of human reflection

upon the revelation of God. Faith is eternal; dogma is temporal. Faith is for all; dogma is not for all. Faith is Divine; dogma is human. Faith saves; dogma does not save" (p. 47).

The "undogmatic Christianity" of which Otto Dreyer is the exponent is not a vague nebulous system, having but one article of belief, *viz.*, that Christianity is a religion of love. It has its doctrines, such as these: the Fatherhood of God, the Divine forgiveness of sin, the Sonship of Jesus, etc. But there is a wide difference between these doctrines of faith and theological dogmas; and while theology should be left free with such intellectual conceptions as are at its command to construct its system out of the material furnished by the truths of faith, the latter alone, Dreyer holds, should be binding on the Church.

One of the most interesting of these essays is that in which Dreyer defines his own position on the general subject in relation to that of Kaftan. Some years ago the Berlin professor published a pamphlet in which he pled for a new dogma that would express the truth of the Christian religion in terms suited to modern requirements. Dreyer and Kaftan are agreed in their contention that the old dogmas, resting on a metaphysic from which modern thought has moved away, are obsolete. But while the latter advocates a fresh reconstruction of dogma, the former, understanding by dogma a formulated statement that is supposed to be an adequate expression of religious truth and therefore equally authoritative with the latter, is opposed to any such reconstructed dogma being imposed on the Church. Any such statement must in the nature of things be provisional and temporary, and, however it might meet the wants of the present, would fail to command the faith of coming generations. The day is past for enforcing new symbolic formulas on the Church. Let theology busy itself with the reconstruction of doctrine. But the Christianity of which the Church is the witness rests on the truths of faith that change not with men's thoughts.

In his essay on the Person of Christ the author illustrates the distinction which he enforces, pointing out that the

diversity of view that prevailed in the Early Church and that issued in the authoritative statements of the creeds arose from the fact that the union between God and man was conceived as a metaphysical one. The insoluble contradictions of the Church doctrine disappear as soon as we succeed in showing that the conception of the essential union between God and man is a religious conception. The dogma has been elaborated from "material in which the religious truth has not reached clear expression" (p. 132).

These essays are charmingly written and the spirit they breathe is admirable. The author's anticipation of a day when the Church will distinguish between theology and religion may seem to some the dream of an idealist. All the same, there cannot be a doubt that the interest of Christianity and the unity of the Church are largely concerned in the recognition of the distinction that is advocated with such force and eloquence in these pages.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

The World's Epoch Makers: Plato.

By David G. Ritchie, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 225. Price 3s.

Johannine Problems and Modern Needs.

By H. T. Purchas, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. 126. Price 3s. net.

The Formation of Christian Character: A Contribution to Individual Christian Ethics.

By W. S. Bruce, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 369. Price 5s.

PROFESSOR RITCHIE'S *Plato* is a notable addition to Mr. Oliphant Smeaton's series of "The World's Epoch Makers". It is written for those "who are willing to read a good deal of Plato himself". Yet it is most readable and intelligible even for such readers as have no independent knowledge of the subject. Greek words are used sparingly in the text, and never without interpretation. Much valuable material has therefore been embodied in the form of notes. Professor Ritchie threads his way through the difficult questions raised by his subject with admirable prudence. Proof of this is abundant throughout the book, but reference may be specially made to the most interesting concluding chapter on "Platonism after Plato," in which it is impossible altogether to avoid referring to such difficult and controversial matters as the influence of Neo-Platonism on the development of Christian thought. He shows very clearly how, "through St. Augustine, but still more through the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, Neo-Platonism produced a direct and continuous influence on the mystical tendencies of Christian thought in the Middle Ages" (p. 188).

Further developments of Neo-Platonism into "a combination of mysticism and magic" owing to its contact with Oriental influences are traced in a most interesting manner; and the volume closes with a sketch of the Cambridge Platonists, of whom Professor Ritchie says that "this Platonism which blossomed in sheltered places of learning amid the fierce theological controversies of the seventeenth century was entirely Neo-Platonic in character, sometimes rising to the level of Plotinus or Origen, sometimes sinking to the depths of Iamblichus and his followers, but seldom approaching the purer philosophical atmosphere of Plato himself" (p. 194).

One of the most interesting chapters is that in which the author sketches "Plato and his contemporaries," and deals at length and with discrimination on the attitude of Plato to the Sophists, showing that Plato opposed them, not as a conservative rising against new light, but because in his judgment the Sophist "is satisfied with very perfunctory solutions of the questions" in connexion with which he upsets old beliefs and customs. The Sophist "is the generalised representative of sham thinking, of shallow popular philosophy, of uncriticised commonplace," though Plato also seems to have held that "for this 'crude rationalism' there is a place as a necessary step in the preparation for grasping truth" (p. 69).

The other chapters deal with Plato's writings and furnish a lucid exposition and commentary for the *Parmenides*, the *Timæus*, the *Republic* and the *Laws*.

There are two fine critical chapters on Plato's *Theory of Knowledge* and *The Soul*, in which the author shows his philosophic capacity. In the latter, in which he summarises Plato's views as to a future life, and the various arguments by which it may be demonstrated, Professor Ritchie says: "If we were to translate Plato's opinion into terms of modern natural theology, we might perhaps put it, that he does not hold that the soul is in itself indestructible, but that it may accord with the plan of Divine goodness, that there should be a plurality of souls continuing in existence. Even Plato's visions of another world do not necessarily imply any survival

of continuous personal consciousness: all the souls, before entering on a new period of earthly life, have to drink more or less of the waters of forgetfulness. Plato's myths admit of being interpreted, in their ethical aspect, as simply a recognition that the deeds which men do now, affect the lives and destinies of those that shall be born hereafter " (p. 149).

This little volume is an ingenious and not by any means unsuccessful attempt to show that the contemporary needs which the Fourth Gospel was written to serve are conspicuously modern, and that the Gospel has therefore a distinct message for our day. The needs of the age in which it arose were, according to this writer, a more spiritual and less official idea of the Christian ministry: a conception of the Eucharist which would dissociate it from the Jewish Passover; the redemption of the Christian apostolate from the love of money; the clearing up of the mutual relations of Peter and John; a true conception of the apostle based on the thought of his being one who is "sent"; and a more spiritual belief in Jesus as the Son of God. His general contention is that the modern study of the Fourth Gospel has resulted in showing how completely it was designed to meet those needs; and inasmuch as the needs of the first century are in these respects so modern, how timely is its contribution to modern Christianity. It may be felt that the arguments of the writer err by over-ingenuity. They are certainly very interesting, and they contain such implied rebuke to certain modern types of religion as is much wanted, and loses nothing by being grounded on the authority of St. John. The instances he uses tend certainly "to prove that the immediate effect of the Gospel was not to abrogate outward forms, but rather to spiritualise and Christianise them. And the effect of its renewed study in our own day need not be in any degree more violent or revolutionary" (p. 117). It should be said that the writer accepts the Johannine authorship, but his arguments and conclusions are not affected materially by the problem of authorship.

The aim of the writer of this volume is, he says, "definite and practical. We wish to describe the genesis and growth of Christian character." The subject is discussed in a popular style, and the writer steers his way successfully between those who, on the one hand, emphasise the Gospel without regarding its ethical content, and those who, on the other, try to separate ethical teaching from its Christian roots. It is a useful protest against "naturalism in ethics". He reviews the subject historically, showing how long the Protestant Church, in a spirit of reaction, avoided the study of Christian ethics; and how, nowadays, it falls in naturally with the popular cultivation of the ethical side of the Christian life. Modern contributions to the subject are acknowledged, beginning with Harless and coming to Kilpatrick, Munger and Davidson. Scriptural guidance is furnished in the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament, and in the ethical teaching of Jesus and St. James. Modern philosophical objections are dealt with, and then the author gets under way, defining what character is—how it is affected by sin—its genesis in the one perfect type—the work of the Holy Spirit in its renewal; and so on.

Specific subjects like Temperance and the Temperaments, Self-Preservation, Christian Self-Culture, the Mind, Emotions, Conscience, Will, Habit, are all sensibly dealt with: and the volume closes with a chapter on The Spiritual Power, or Moral Dynamic, full of force and fine feeling for the secret of the Gospel of Christ. The book may be commended to all students of Christianity, on its ethical side, as a valuable contribution, which would serve as an excellent text-book. It covers more fully the same ground as is sketched in Kilpatrick's *Christian Character and Conduct*.

DAVID PURVES.

1. Human Nature : A Revelation of the Divine.

A Sequel to "Studies in the Character of Christ". By Charles Henry Robinson, M.A., Canon Missioner of Ripon. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. x. + 364. Price 6s. net.

2. Christ the Indweller : An Attempt to trace the Practical Bearing of the Doctrine of the Inward Christ on Common Life.

By John Thomas Jacob, Vicar of Tor, Torquay. London : Macmillan & Co., 1902. Pp. 257. Price 5s.

3. Steps to Unity : A Scientific Philosophy, the Harbinger of a Scientific Theology.

London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901. Pp. xxxiii. + 238. Price 7s. 6d.

4. Hebrew Ideals from the Story of the Patriarchs : A Study of Old Testament Faith and Life.

Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students. By Rev. J. Strachan, M.A., St. Fergus. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. 201. Price 2s.

1. Those who have read *Studies on the Character of Christ* will welcome this sequel. The former book was warmly received both by the press and the reading public, and this latest production will be recognised as equally acceptable. Mr. Robinson has found the right method of approaching Revelation, and this method he uses with ease and with success. Starting from Tennyson's aphorism—"The spiritual Character of Christ is more wonderful than the greatest miracle," he has developed from "The Portrait of Jesus" a

fresh and telling apologetic. To find in His Unique Personality—for Jesus was not simply another man—the best proof of the Divine origin of Christianity is Mr. Robinson's way of restating the Defence of the Faith. It was along this line, by an induction from observation, that the disciples gained their faith in the Master, and the book before us shows how, from the wider experience of Christ at work in the world and in the heart, men can still follow on "to know the Lord".

In the second part of the book Mr. Robinson deals with the problem of the Old Testament. Here also he relies on the Internal Evidence. There is a concise and scholarly chapter on the Results of Criticism, and accepting these, the author proceeds to differentiate the essential message of the Old Testament from contemporary religions and their literature. With admirable insight the line of cleavage is struck, in the *Character* of Jehovah. This and the chapters on the Unity of God, the Divine Image in Human Nature and a Continuous Purpose in History, work out a freshly put and helpful defence of the Revelation of the Hebrew Scriptures. The last section of the book is devoted to studies in worship—an application in practical and devotional sermons of the results of the argument.

It remains to be said that the book has all the qualities of a good style. It never lags. It is never dull. It is well indexed, and so makes available its store of unhackneyed and impressive illustration.

2. This is a tender and beautiful book on the Culture of the Common Life. Taking St. Paul's prayer, "that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith," as motto, the author lifts up the Real into the light of the Ideal. Such a book might have been misty and too heroic, or it might have been hard. It is neither, but touches the drab and grey of ordinary experience with sympathetic common-sense. The treatment is sacramental without being sacramentarian.

It covers a wide range of topics—work, prayer, ambition, patience, etc. The chapters on "Commonplace Surroundings" and "Influence" are particularly suggestive, and the

final chapter "The End Crowns All" is a beautiful picture of the Consecrated Life. The illustrations from literature and art are chosen and applied with great felicity.

3. In a brief preface the anonymous author states that the book has been published with a twofold view, to show (1) that the old Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense can be satisfactorily established on Scientific Principles, (2) and chiefly that the doctrines of Holy Scripture, *duly interpreted*, can be made to rest on and be consistent with the self-same principles.

After an introduction dealing with the Psychology of the subject, the main theological doctrines of Sin, Righteousness, Human Freedom, Election and Predestination, and the Lord's Supper, are exhaustively discussed. If one could agree with the premise, *a due interpretation* of Scripture, the book would be more convincing than it is, but to instance only two topics, "Immortality" and "The Basis of Sin," one gravely doubts if justice has been done to the contents of Scripture. "Men may construe things after their fashion": and here the crux of the book lies.

The volume is professedly a path-finder, and that too in a region where pitfalls are numerous. That the author has avoided all of these cannot be said, but he has written with ability and originality a book that will be found interesting and *provocative* to those who have tastes for that "dim and perilous" borderland between Philosophy and Theology.

4. After Analysis comes Synthesis. We have been discussing the composition of Genesis, but here is the book itself with its message. Mr. Strachan is no enemy to scholarship. He is one of the most competent Hebrew students of his day. But he rightly feels that the time has come to take the Old Testament "from the exhausted air-bell of the critic," that it may prove its inspiration, by *inspiring*.

The book deals with the story of Abraham and Isaac, as a revelation of Old Testament faith and life. Its method—ad-

mirably adapted for teaching—is to group round the central point of each incident a series of paragraphs illustrative of the virtues enjoined. In this way he shows us the kind of life the patriarchs lived, its *laughter* and its *tears*, its *warfare* and the *peace* at the heart of it. For the things that make up the common lot of men everywhere had their counterpart in these pilgrims of the unseen, and Mr. Strachan keeps us close to life.

The book is one of a series for Bible classes, and is exactly the thing we wanted. It is one of the freshest and most illuminative books on Genesis we have seen. As a mirror of manners and ideals to make life worthy it is altogether unique. To bring a Bible class into contact with the Old Testament through the sympathetic insight of this book would be a rare boon to teacher and to taught. The guide is competent; he understands what young men are thinking, and he knows how to reinforce the teaching of Genesis with a perfect wealth of quotation from the wisdom of the centuries. But better than all, Christ is in the book, and the evangelical love for Christ. As a great mountain dominating a landscape, and visible from every point, Christ is always in sight, and His shadow falls across every page. It is meet that it should be so, for “Abraham rejoiced to see His day, and he saw it and was glad”. The book is written in delightful English, piquant and crisp, and the surprises of its style make it easy reading. We hope that Part II. will be speedily forthcoming. It will be welcome. Mr. Strachan quotes Luther, “*Nihil pulchrius Genesi, nihil utilius,*” and after him we believe it.

W. M. GRANT.

Personal Idealism : Philosophical Essays.

By Eight Members of the University of Oxford. Edited by Henry Sturt. London : Macmillan & Co., 1902. Pp. viii. + 393. Price 10s. net.

WE are becoming accustomed to volumes of Oxford essays, and so long as they keep the high level attained by those issued recently, we cannot have too many of them. The present work is meant to develop and defend the principle of personality as the supreme instrument of interpretation in various fields of philosophy. The writers are at one in their speculative detestation of Naturalism, by which is meant that philosophical tendency, too often illegitimately associated with the name of science, which regards the individual as the transitory resultant of physical processes; "the real strength of naturalism," we are told in one place, "depends not on its logic, but on the success of its appeal to the imagination of the unimaginative". They are also convinced opponents of Absolutism, which may be taken as represented most effectively by Mr. Bradley. These two schools are in reality much akin—"when every one is somebody, then no one's anybody," as the poet has observed—and this gives a unity of aim to the writers' polemic. More particularly, Naturalism has to be fought because it ultimately implies fatalism. Absolutism, as Mr. Sturt remarks in his interesting preface, is unsatisfactory "first, in its way of criticising human experience not from the standpoint of human experience, but from the visionary and impracticable standpoint of an absolute experience; and, secondly, in its refusal to recognise adequately the volitional side of human nature". The philosophical motive of these essays is sufficiently clear from this quotation.

We find another feature common to the work of the various authors, which many will agree with the editor in

thinking the most valuable characteristic of their method, *viz.*, the frequency of their appeal to experience. The truth for which empiricism stands has been very late in coming to its rights, but these rights it is impossible to contest any longer. On this Mr. Sturt has an admirable observation. After remarking that "the current antithesis between a spiritual philosophy and empiricism is thoroughly mischievous," he goes on to say: "Empirical Idealism is still something of a paradox; I should like to see it regarded as a truism". These words indicate, as it seems to us, the path of true life and promise for philosophers at the present juncture. After all, the *actual* is logically superior even to the *necessary*. Still, one question which we should have liked to see discussed more directly is—What are the qualities of that experience to which appeal is to be made as characteristic and normative? Avenarius would answer this in one way, Mr. Sturt and his colleagues in quite another; and in this work the criterion to which "Empirical Idealism" is to resort is nowhere clearly elucidated.

"Personality" may easily become a parrot-cry in philosophy, but most readers will feel that in the hands of these writers it is made an instrument of genuine explanation, not only in the more familiar problems of knowledge and morals but in the remoter fields of cosmic evolution and the theory of art. The principle adopted is that self-conscious life, as known to man, is the highest category available. Personality is not only the strictest and most concrete unity within our ken; it is the source and model of that principle of unity without which neither science nor philosophy could exist. It is amazing to note how many excellent people, with the best intentions in the world, regard themselves as having finally interpreted facts of human thought and feeling when they have reduced them to sub-personal terms. To realise the preposterousness of any such method they have only to read this book. Here it is recognised, with a clearness which leaves nothing to be desired, that our own conscious mind is the only key we possess to unlock the secrets of being, and that if this key fails, we have no other. Professor James

has recently said that "so long as we deal with the cosmic and the general, we deal only with the symbols of reality, but as soon as we deal with private and personal phenomena as such, we deal with realities in the completest sense of the term"; and his words strike a note which sounds again and again in these pages. It is easy to perceive a near kinship between this attitude of mind and the idealism which for the past thirty years we have been wont to associate with Oxford. But the volume does a great deal more than mark time. It steps in advance of the past. It repeats no man's formulas. In particular it welcomes the results of modern psychology, and faces in no timid and apologetic fashion but in a free and attractively sanguine spirit the widening and enriching of the idealistic system they demand. The thinking is everywhere close to actual life and thought. Facts of every kind are sacred, but the greatest and deepest fact of all is personality.

Another noteworthy characteristic of these writers is their adhesion to what is called *voluntarism*, i.e., the theory which places the central function of mental life in volitional striving and selective attention. Personality can most truly be described as a willing or originating consciousness. The value of this for ethics is manifest, and in some sort for epistemology as well; for such a view of the essential nature of the self is not likely to be weak in teleology. Of course it has its dangers, of which the authors of this volume are, no doubt, quite well aware. Voluntarism is one of these philosophical views which may turn again and rend you. We think that in Mr. Schiller's essay, for example, it is stated somewhat recklessly. It is one thing to say that belief is the expression of a Self which is far more than intellect; it is quite another to say that it is *more closely* related to action, and to feeling which is incipient action, than to knowledge. From such a soil a vicious obscurantism may easily spring.

The first essay¹ is by Mr. G. F. Stout, who takes "Error" for his subject. His work serves to remind us how there are a multitude of logical questions upon which the ordinary

¹ Each essay is prefaced by a valuable synopsis.

textbooks throw very little light, but which as discussed by a master are in the highest degree rewarding. Mr. Stout, taking his text from Plato's *Theaetetus*, starts from the point that in error what is unreal seems to be thought of in the same way as the real is thought of in true knowledge. The possibility of this is a puzzle. As a preliminary to solving it, he considers two modes of thought other than those to which the epithets 'true' and 'false' could apply, *viz.*, indeterminate or problematic thinking, and thinking of what is a mere appearance without asserting that it possesses reality. In discussing these modes Mr. Stout speaks with emphasis regarding the independent reality of the object of cognition, not, of course, in the ontological sense, but in the sense of having a determinate nature of its own to which thought must conform. The conclusion arrived at is that error happens when the mere appearance of anything is confused with its reality. "For error to exist the mind must work in such a way as to defeat its own purpose. Its interest must lie in conforming its thought to the predetermined constitution of some real object. And yet in the very attempt to do so it must qualify its object by features which are merely due to psychological conditions." We have some very illuminating pages on errors of confusion and errors of ignorance. Then follow some corollaries which may be deduced from the main conclusion adopted. Perhaps the most interesting of these sections is the last of all, containing Mr. Stout's strictures upon the position defended by Mr. Bradley, "that all propositions, except perhaps certain assertions concerning the Absolute as such, must be more or less erroneous," because in the very act of asserting we abstract from the conditions. As Mr. Stout maintains, surely with reason, if we assert that two and two are four, all the relevant data are *ipso facto* present, and doubts are meaningless. Might the same illustration not be employed to suggest to Mr. Stout that he attributes an unreal importance to the principle which he formulates (p. 10) in the words "one cannot be right or wrong without some interest or purpose"? What purpose can affect the rightness or wrongness of the

statement that two and two make four? None, unless you adduce the purpose to count, and to count truly. To make truth and error relative to this, however, besides being superfluous, seems to us a psychological rather than a logical criticism.

We could wish Mr. Stout's essay very much longer, for in philosophical quality it must rank as the finest in the whole volume. It is extremely short, but its importance is in inverse proportion to its bulk. There is a freshness and penetration in its thought, and an incisive brevity in its expression, which leave the reader desirous of more. It closes with an appetising footnote, promising a fuller treatment of the writer's grounds of divergence from Mr. Bradley.

The next essay, the longest in the book, is by Mr. F. C. S. Schiller, and bears the title "Axioms as Postulates". We have found Mr. Schiller a very lively philosopher, intent on beguiling the way with a stream of facetious observations, but his methods are really out of place in the quiet and dignified company in which he finds himself. Were much of the unnecessary and insipid humour to be ruthlessly excised his essay would be reduced to limits more consonant with its speculative importance. We regret that his unfortunate mannerisms may dispose impatient readers to neglect an argument of a very acute and interesting kind.

Mr. Schiller's thesis is that the fundamental principles of knowledge begin their career as demands which we make on our experience. To begin with they must be classed as mere postulates, which are being perpetually sifted by the very process of cognition. Whether they shall be promoted to the rank of axioms or abandoned depends on the way they work. The living progress of knowledge thus becomes, throughout, a revelation and explication of the principles with which we start; and it is easy to see that any theory which maintains so living a relationship between the origin and the history of the categories has a great deal in its favour. Mr. Schiller is next led to give a polemical account of empiricism and apriorism, too unsympathetic, perhaps, to be quite fair. The criticism of *a priori* logic is carried out at great length, and

contains a vigorous review of the Kantian system. Here the critic presses many of his points with unsparing persistency, contending, *e.g.*, that there is an inveterate ambiguity in Kantianism on the question whether it is logically or psychologically that the principles necessary to knowledge are to be reckoned *a priori*. Both empiricism and apriorism are finally condemned as being radically infected with intellectualism, and thus rendered incapable of appreciating the essential unity and activity of the personal organism. We must correct this by recognising the thoroughly voluntarist and postulatory character of mental life. "Thought must be conceived as an outgrowth of action, knowledge of life, intelligence of will."

In the latter part of his essay Mr. Schiller proceeds to test the truth of his theory by examining various principles which have been universally held as logically axiomatic. We are told, for example (p. 102), that "the affirmation of identity, without which there is neither thought nor judgment, is essentially an act of postulation which presupposes as its psychological *conditio sine qua non* the feeling of the self-identity and 'unity' of consciousness". This implies that the principle of identity is already in the mind as a more or less explicit element in the feeling of self, and the task would still seem to be left Mr. Schiller of proving that utility will explain this, its original form. But if we waive this point, and allow Mr. Schiller to give his own account of the postulates of Contradiction, Excluded Middle, Causation, etc., the living attractiveness of the theory grows upon the mind. Especially would we direct attention to the admirable treatment, towards the close, of the problem of teleology.

As we have already said, we think that Mr. Schiller, as a voluntarist, drives the nail in so hard as almost to split the wood. Mr. Stout had justly underlined the truth of the independent reality of the object known, but Mr. Schiller would deny "that there is an objective world given independently of us, and constraining us to recognise it". Unquestionably he is right in insisting on the work of the mind in organising experience, but conceiving that mind as he does

mainly in terms of will, the truth of ideas becomes for him purely relative to the use that is made of them. Now, no doubt knowledge is not mechanically imposed upon the subject by the world, but is rather something hammered out by dint of experience. Yet to exaggerate the activity of the mind, and ignore the cue given by the object, is the most self-defeating of theories. We desire to know in order to survive; true, but unless our knowledge is objectively valid, we shall *not* survive. We question, therefore, if the whole truth about the principles of knowledge has been told when they have been dubbed postulates. A postulate is too much something we should do without if we could. And when the postulates as construed by Mr. Schiller come to be viewed together, they seem casual, incomplete, unsystematised. No bond of connexion appears to unite them save their formal relation to the mind. Mr. Schiller has made a remarkable contribution to the voluntarist theory of knowledge, but it bears on its face the traces of that method of hyperbole which frequently tempts a man because it is so useful for didactic purposes.

Mr. R. R. Marrett writes a very fine essay on "Origin and Validity in Ethics," full of just and enlightening ideas. In some respects it runs on lines parallel to Mr. Schiller's work, but seems to preserve a truer sanity of judgment. "If Ethics splits into fragments," he declares, "it will split on the question of Origin *versus* Validity. Or, on the other hand, if Ethics is to maintain its integrity as Ethics, Origin and Validity must be reconciled, that is, room must be found for both principles of explanation to operate freely within a single, well-marked, centrally-governed, self-supporting province of thought." Origin is more a matter of thought, validity of feeling. In order to settle accounts between these two Mr. Marrett places a treble limitation on the scope of Ethics. "Let us remind ourselves," he says, "(a) that life is not all conscious life; (b) that conscious life is not all morality; and (c) that morality as a product is but partially due to moral theory, whether organised as science or as art." Thereupon he institutes a searching examination of the view which finds

the worth of a moral principle in its history, and while conceding that domestic and national virtues appear on the whole to be tolerably well accounted for by saying that they serve the natural end of race-preservation, argues that personal virtues seem rather to seek a 'spiritual' end, as do even more obviously such virtues as holiness, pure unselfishness, and the love of the ideal—qualities of character which he styles transcendental. On rational utilitarianism he passes the severely just criticism that "its appeal was never to veritable history, but to something conceived to lie at the back of history, namely the 'is really' of an *a priori* metaphysical naturalism". There are many things in morality which it is quite impossible to explain by the unconscious utilitarianism of nature. On the other hand, in moral intuition there is to be found "an ultimate authoritativeness" which is not external to the moral subject, and can be interpreted as the supreme and organising principle of a normative Ethics which both lays down precepts and explains moral history. And yet Origin stands for something. It is the critical factor in the synthesis. The Ethics proper to man is an intuitionism "tempered by critical reflection".

Mr. Marrett's work contains a great deal of admirable moral psychology, very unobtrusively woven into the general texture of his argument. Some passages seem to have been written with Mr. Taylor's "Problem of Conduct" in view, and will serve as a wholesome corrective to the questionable novelties in moral theory with which that brilliant work abounds. The last section of this essay presents an eminently satisfactory example of the "Empirical Idealism" which Mr. Sturt desiderates, and the need of which has been felt nowhere more keenly than in scientific ethics.

We could wish that we had space to give some adequate impression of Dr. Rashdall's striking essay on "Personality, Human and Divine". Like all Dr. Rashdall's work it is the production of a masculine and penetrating mind. He has come to definite and reasoned conclusions about the subject on which he discourses, and possesses to a very unusual degree the gift of giving expression to his views

with incisiveness and force. Perhaps the brevity which he has imposed upon himself leads him at times into statements which are either truisms or utterly mistaken, as when he tells us that "the newly-born infant is no more of a person than a worm, except *δυνάμει*" — a dictum which would work havoc with the principle that the *only* true definition is dynamical and prophetic. Dr. Rashdall passes a suggestive criticism upon Hegelian writers when (p. 382) he says that almost without an exception they are guilty of the fallacy of assuming that "what constitutes existence for others is the same as what constitutes existence for self"; though his adjacent Berkeleyan theory of the existence of a thing is perhaps in want of a little more argumentative support than he has given it. His vindication of the reality of the Self against Mr. Bradley's objections is a powerful piece of writing. And discussion may possibly be awakened by his conclusion that "the Absolute is a society which includes God and all other spirits". The whole essay is so fresh and forcible that one wishes it had been very much longer. Here and there the argument has suffered from excessive condensation.

It would be unpardonable to conclude without drawing attention to the editor's essay on "Art and Personality," which stands out amid its surroundings as not only an illuminating philosophical statement but a critical piece of great literary beauty. If published separately it would unquestionably command a wider circle of interested readers than a book with a technically philosophical title can hope to reach. It abounds in fine sayings and æsthetic judgments which win the student's confidence by a certain wise enthusiasm, as well as their broad human reasonableness. The other essays, all of great merit on their own lines, are "The Problem of Freedom in its Relation to Psychology," by Mr. Boyce Gibson; "The Limits of Evolution," by Mr. Underhill; and "The Future of Ethics: Effort or Abstention?" by Dr. Bussell.

The questions to which this book is devoted may all be as old as philosophical reflection, but they are stated and argued with so much living interest, and such a pleasant freedom from repellent technical terms, that tyro and expert

alike will find the discussion attractive. The writers are **in open** and aggressive sympathy with tendencies which have **found** powerful and popular expression in James' *The Will to Believe* and for which points of attachment may be found in the greater masters like Spinoza and Herbart. Voluntarism has still to settle accounts with Mr. Bradley, and some interesting passages-at-arms may be anticipated. Meanwhile we have to thank Oxford for another collection of instructive and inspiring dissertations, which is certain to remove any doubts which may have been felt as to the unwearied vigour and progressive vitality of present-day English philosophy. The project of the volume was a very happy one, and we hope for it a success adequate to its great merits.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Typical Modern Conceptions of God, or, The Absolute of German Romantic Idealism and of English Evolutionary Agnosticism, with a constructive Essay. By JOSEPH ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, Professor of Philosophy in Hobart College. New York, London & Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 190. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book had its origin in a thesis presented to the Faculty of Cornell University with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Some of the essays now embodied in the volume have been published previously in the *Philosophical Review*. The author's object is to give a comparative view of four typical ways of dealing with the problem of the Absolute, or the metaphysical conception of God, *viz.*, those represented by Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher and Spencer. He omits Schelling for two reasons—because his changes of view were so “many and chameleon-like,” and because his most valuable ideas are also to be found in the writings of the other great German thinkers.

Professor Leighton's style lacks vivacity and interest. His volume, however, is a careful study which gives evidence of wide reading and acute thinking. It gives a good account of these representative conceptions, bringing out their distinctive points with considerable ability and setting the one over against the other in a way that helps us the better to understand them. The author is often very happy in his definitions and his comparisons, and his criticisms in many cases are just and useful.

Herbert Spencer is taken as the “philosophical representative of modern physical views of the universe,” and the contrast between his methods and those followed by Fichte and Hegel is ably set forth. Schleiermacher's relations to Spinoza, Kant and the great German Idealists are expounded with insight, and among other things the far-reaching importance of his doctrine of the ethical worth and the philosophical

and religious significance of individuality has ample justice done to it.

The strength of the book, however, from the philosophical point of view is in the chapters on Fichte and Hegel. These sages are dealt with as representing "first parallel and then diverging growths from the common root of the Kantian Critique". There is much that is of interest in the comparison instituted between these two—Fichte as one who passed step by step from purely ethical premises to a "distinctively metaphysical groundwork for life and religion," and Hegel as one who, without any such process of mental development, came at once to "a speculative, metaphysical conception of the Absolute as wholly immanent—as the temporal world of human experience".

The general result of this comparative study of four typical thinkers is stated to be that we have four sharply differentiated conceptions of the Absolute. They are described as "that of Will, finding its completion in the intuition of perfect attainment; that of Reason, comprehending itself as the eternal process of the world, and finding that all is good; that of Feeling, which apprehends the unity of things in a single and immediate act of consciousness; and finally that of Blind Energy, which seems, in a cross-section of time and as viewed by the average spectator, to have a definite direction, but which in reality has neither whence nor whither and no other goal than the meaningless eternal oscillation between states of motion and states of rest".

S. D. F. SALMOND.

An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles. Containing a Vindication of the Pauline Authorship of both Epistles and an Interpretation of the Eschatological Section of 2 Thess. ii. By E. H. ASKWITH, B.D., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 144. Price 4s. net.

In this volume Mr. Askwith deals with the Thessalonian Epistles as he has previously dealt with the Epistle to the Galatians. He gives us compact statements and scholarly

discussions of the great questions, literary, critical and historical, that are connected with these epistles. He does this in a way that will make his book very useful to students of theology in particular, and he puts his matter always in clear and concise form. His examination of the arguments for and against the genuineness of the Second Epistle has the excellent qualities of candour and reasonableness. The question, however, which he deals with most at length is the interpretation of the eschatological paragraph in 2 Thessalonians ii. He recognises the difficulty of the subject and points out very acutely the doubtful spots in the various explanations which have been given of the passage on the hypothesis of its post-Pauline origin. Noticing the vulnerable points in the *Nero-redivivus* interpretation given by Baur and the *Gnostic* interpretations of Hilgenfeld and Bahnsen, he subjects the theories of Weiss and Bousset to a keen criticism of a more detailed kind. He acknowledges the ability with which Weiss supports the view that the ἀποστασία in question is a Jewish religious apostasy. He fully appreciates also the clever points in Bousset's attempt to explain the paragraph as an application of a legendary belief that before the advent of Messiah an Antichrist would arise out of the Jewish people claiming divine honours for himself, the Roman Empire being the *κάτεχον* and the Roman Emperor the *κατέχων*. He finds that these interpretations, however, fail to meet the circumstances of the case, and he works out another view, namely, that the ἀποστασία is to be taken not as a religious, but as a political apostasy, a rebellion of the Jewish people against Rome, and that the "man of lawlessness" is the Roman Emperor claiming divine honours for himself. His arguments are well and modestly stated, and he is not blind to the difficulties of his theory. It means for one thing that Paul expected Caligula's blasphemous attempt to be repeated by Claudius or a later Emperor. It has to be made to fit the view of the Roman State that appears to be taken elsewhere in the Pauline writings, and it has to make out a better case than Mr. Askwith has yet prepared for putting only a *political* sense on the ἀποστασία.

Prayer. By the Rev. A. J. WORLLEDGE, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Truro. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 378. Price 5s.

This volume belongs to "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology," edited by Canon Newbolt and Principal Darwell Stone. It is an attractive book in type and binding, and in respect of contents it answers well to the purpose of the series. It is quite the kind of book to be of use to a large class of readers—those who wish to have an intelligent idea of *prayer*, to understand what it involves, and to satisfy their reason on the difficulties connected with its reality and its method. Its object, however, is mainly practical. Intellectual difficulties are dealt with, but without having much space bestowed on them and without much that is in any sense striking being said on the subject. On the other hand the *doctrinal* aspects of prayer are set forth at greater length and with more power. After some discussion of the nature and necessity of prayer, its efficacy, and the arguments against that efficacy, the author proceeds to unfold the subject of prayer in relation to the Fatherhood of God, the answer in the Name of Christ, the action of the Holy Spirit in prayer, the theological virtues and other conditions of acceptable prayer. These are the topics on which the writer is seen at his best. But there are good chapters also on Christ's Example in Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, the Divisions of Prayer, Public Worship, the Subjects for Prayer, Hindrances and Limits in Prayer, etc. There is a tendency to make too much perhaps of the Church as a corporate body in some of the discussions of the book, especially in the sections dealing with the functions and operations of the Spirit in the matter of prayer. But the theological treatment of the subject in hand is always able, and in this respect the book takes a place of its own among recent contributions to the literature on Prayer. Thoughtful minds will find much to help them in intellectual apprehension and in spiritual feeling in this volume. It takes us over many questions of practical interest. It does this in a devout spirit and with a very capable hand.

For the Lord's Table, A Book of Communion Addresses. By the Rev. CHARLES JERDAN, M.A., LL.B. Second Edition, revised. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 417. Price 5s.

This volume is sent out in tasteful form by the publishers. It has been well received in its first issue, and it deserves the success it has had. It contains fifty-two brief chapters dealing with subjects suitable for meditation in connexion with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It opens with two concise and careful statements on "The Uses of the Lord's Supper" and "The Two Christian Sacraments," and in the subsequent chapters it gives us appropriate meditations on such topics as The Love of Christ, The Surroundings of the Supper, The Paschal Lamb, The Cup of the New Covenant, Standing by the Cross, Eternal Life in Christ, etc. The addresses are of a very suitable length, and they are attractive in style. They are careful studies of the subjects selected, sympathetic in spirit, devout, edifying, and showing in many passages a remarkable felicity of expression.

The Law of Growth and other Sermons. By the Right Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D., Late Bishop of Massachusetts. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. v. + 381. Price 6s.

We have had much from the strong pen and the warm heart of the great Boston preacher, whose death New England and the Christian world deplore. This new volume of discourses will be not less welcome than others that have been gratefully received from time to time. It discloses more of the master's art, his original and impressive treatment of religious themes, his peculiar use of Scripture, his uncommon gift of style, his power in driving things home to mind and conscience in terms almost equally telling to the highly educated and to the man in the street. It shows us more, too, of his limitations as well as his strength as a

religious teacher, while in every discourse we feel the throb of a large and ardent nature. There are many striking sermons in the volume—sermons that will not readily be forgotten when once read. To see what Phillips Brooks was one should read the discourses on “Half-life,” “The Power of an Uncertain Future,” “The Battlements of the Lord,” “The Holiness of Duty,” “The Strength of Consecration,” etc.

The Study of Religion. By MORRIS JASTROW, Jun., Ph.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. London: Walter Scott, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 451. Price 6s.

This forms one of the volumes of “The Contemporary Science Series,” edited by Havelock Ellis. It is appropriately dedicated to Professor C. P. Tiele to whose works and friendship the writer acknowledges his great indebtedness. The volume is divided into three parts, headed respectively “General Aspects,” “Special Aspects,” and “Practical Aspects”. The first deals with the history and Character of the Study of Religion, the Classification of Religions, the Character and Definitions of Religion, and the Origin of Religion. The second part discusses such questions as the relations of Religion and Ethics, Religion and Philosophy, Religion and Mythology, etc. The third is occupied with the Study of the Sources, the Historical Study of Religion in Colleges, Universities and Seminaries, etc. The plan, therefore, is large and comprehensive. The numerous questions handled are put and answered with commendable conciseness and in a clear and pointed style. One of the most valuable chapters is the one on the Classification of Religions. The leading schemes, as elaborated by Tiele, Hegel, Réville, Max Müller, Kuenen and others, are reviewed and criticised at length. The writer concludes by propounding a scheme of his own, *viz.*, a four-fold division into the Religions of Savages, those of Primitive Culture, those of Advanced Culture, and those which emphasise as the ideal the co-extensiveness of religion with life, and aim at a consistent accord between religious doctrine and religious practice. This classification is urged as superior

to others because it rests upon a single principle which presides over the development of religion itself, namely, "the relation of religion to life". We confess that, while this scheme certainly has the merit of simplicity, we fail to see that it marks any advance. It is less scientific indeed than others that will readily occur to readers. For practical purposes it may have its uses, but it lacks the scientific note of a single idea or a unifying principle. Dr. Jastrow's criticisms of other systems, however, are often of much force. As to his own idea of Religion he seems to find its source in "the sense of the Infinite," and he affirms the existence of a religious faculty as an essential part of human nature. This he holds to be "most necessary to an interpretation of the facts of religion". On the question of the possibility and actuality of a Revelation or a Revealed Religion he is not very definite. He appears to avoid coming to close quarters on the subject. He contends certainly that the claim to be based on Revelation is a claim of which the science of religion can take no cognisance. He confesses, however, that there are "hidden influences at work in shaping the religious fortunes of mankind". He is content to recognise their presence. He cares not by what name they may be called, but he admits that there "remains an element which cannot be explained by historical research". On the Christian religion he makes some good and appreciative remarks, especially with regard to its aim to unite religion and life, its service to civilisation, its relation to modern culture, etc. But there are also some statements which are of a different kind, *e.g.*, as to its being a philosophical system and its history "to a large extent a history of philosophic thought applied to religious problems"; as to its containing exaggerated emotional tendencies, etc. The student, however, will find much that will help him in the book. The matter is well arranged; the method is purely historical; the style is clear and compact; the amount of information which is supplied is large and it is given in a very handy form. For the purposes of a handbook this volume will be found most useful.

Redeeming Judgment, and other Sermons. By JOHN KELMAN, M.A., Leith. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. 243.

In this volume we have part of the fruits of a long ministry. It is made up of a number of pulpit discourses selected from the mass of those delivered during a pastorate extending over more than forty years. They will be valued by many outside the circle of those who heard them. They deal with great themes, the "Grandeur of Prayer," "God's Rejoicing Love," "The Valley of Achor for a Door of Hope," "God Greater than our Heart," "Paul's Triumph in Christ," and the like. They handle these themes with discernment and force, setting forth the old evangelical faith in its fulness, but in terms remarkably free from the formal, traditional phraseology. There is a welcome freshness and independence in the way in which old truths are stated and commended to attention. The clear, simple and effective style in which these discourses are written adds much to their attractiveness. Devout minds will find much to edify and help them in this volume.

The Epistles of St. John: the Greek Text with Notes and Essays. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Lord Bishop of Durham and Honorary Fellow of Trinity and King's Colleges, Cambridge. Fourth edition. London: Macmillan & Co., 1902. 8vo, pp. lvi. + 380. Price 12s. 6d.

This commentary, first published in 1883, has now reached its fourth edition. Very little change has been made in the book since it was first given to the public. A continuous translation was added to each section in the second edition, which was issued in 1885, and some minor inaccuracies were corrected. But the interpretation remained unchanged. The third edition was in all essential matters a reprint of the second, with a few corrections of misprints, mistakes in references, and the like. This fourth edition is again a reprint of the third, the only changes being the correction

of some errata and the incorporation of a few slight additions found noted in the lamented author's copy. It is not necessary to say much in addition to what has been previously said on the merits of this commentary. The book has secured a high place in the list of commentaries on these Epistles. There is much in the Johannine writings, and especially in these letters, that suited the genius of Bishop Westcott, in which the mystic and the verbal precisian seemed to meet. His peculiar exegetical gifts are seen, therefore, in this book at their strongest and at times also at their weakest. We find in the notes a minute attention to language and grammar which is often fruitful but which also at times is pressed too far. We have also a spiritual reading of the ideas which is in many cases just and helpful, but which has a tendency at times to descend to vagueness. The essays and extended notes are an interesting feature of the volume. Most of them are of great value. The one that is least satisfactory is that on "The Idea of Christ's Blood in the New Testament". Here the path of the historical interpreter appears to us to be left at more than one point, and conclusions advocated which cannot be sustained by a just and adequate exegesis of the Old Testament terms and usages at the foundation of the New Testament statements. While this volume has not the wonderful insight of Rothe's exposition nor the brilliancy of Haupt's, it is undoubtedly an important contribution to the interpretation of these Epistles, and one which all students ought to have by them.

The Dawn of the Reformation. By HERBERT B. WORKMAN, M.A., Author of *The Church of the West in the Middle Ages*. Vol. I., *The Age of Wyclif*. Vol. II., *The Age of Hus*. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, vol. i., 1901, pp. xvi. + 310; vol. ii., pp. xvi. + 374. Price 2s. 6d. each.

These volumes belong to the series of "Books for Bible Students," edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory, D.D. They are both remarkably well done, and will be most useful

in making the preparation for the great Reformation movement of the sixteenth century better known. They are written in so lively and attractive a style that no one can become weary in the perusal of them. But they are much more than popular sketches, or skilful reproductions of other men's labours. They represent patient and honest toil, and trained methods of historical investigation. Mr. Workman has gone to the sources and has looked into things with his own eyes. It is a student's work, an independent investigator's results that are given in the pleasant pages of these volumes. The object which Mr. Workman has set before him, as he states it himself, is, "to trace the various influences and forces both within and without the Church, which produced the great revolution of the sixteenth century". He has been faithful to this object and has carried it out with much success, and with a proper sense of the fact that, with all that has been done by so many competent hands, there are still many things in connexion with the Reformation, and especially with its causes and beginnings, on which we are far from clear. In the case of Wyclif the confession is made very frankly that much work has yet to be done before we may know for certain how the reformer influenced his generation. And in the case of the Bohemian reformer and his times there is the same recognition of the limits of certainty in the present condition of our knowledge. The question of the inconsistencies of Wyclif is handled with care and discernment. Mr. Workman indicates his suspicion that "the great Englishman was rather the head and inspiration of a school of workers than himself actually responsible for all that passes even to-day under his name". The volume on Hus begins with an excellent chapter on the great schism, a sketch of the Council of Pisa, and a brief account of the forerunners of Hus. The fourth chapter deals with the life of the Reformer and his troubles in Prague. A separate chapter is very properly devoted to the Council of Constance, of which we get a very vivid view. The closing chapter is occupied with the trial and death of Hus. Then follow a series of appendices, which are of much interest, dealing as

they do with such subjects as the election of Urban VI., St. John Nepomucen, the Safe-Conduct of Hus, etc. All through the best authorities, Mansi, Hardt, Erler, Finke, Palacky, Loserth, etc., are consulted and used with independent judgment. The late Bishop Creighton receives a special tribute of honour for the judgment as well as the learning with which he treated the period. The importance of Hus, in the author's opinion, is in the fact that he is "the representative of the new spirit of consecration to Truth, as distinct from Authority, which, more than anything else, was destined to sweep away Mediævalism"; and the value of the period to which Hus belonged lies, he thinks, "in the demonstration it gives that reform from within was impossible". These are conclusions with which all will agree who follow Mr. Workman's luminous narrative.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Arabien vor dem Islam.

Von Dr. Otto Weber. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901. 8vo, pp. 35. Price 60 Pf.

Fünf Neue Arabische Landschaftsnamen im Alten Testament.

Beleuchtet von Eduard König, Dr. Phil. u. Theol. ordentlichem Professor an der Univers. Bonn. Mit einem Exkurs über die Paradiesesfrage. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. 78. Price M.3.

THIS is the day of Archæology. Egyptology and Assyriology have won their place among the scientific studies of our time. Arabiology is not so prominent. But it is with us. And the results it can show are of no little interest and importance. The two monographs mentioned above form part of the literature which is growing up about the discoveries recently made in Arabia. Both treatises refer in part to the same subject. The five place-names discussed by Dr. König are claimed by Dr. Weber as a fruit of recent discoveries in Arabia (p. 24).

Dr. Weber's little work covers a wide field. The purpose of the writer is to give a *vidimus* of the history of Arabia from the earliest period to the conquest of the Peninsula by the Mohammedans. In an octavo of thirty-five pages this can be done only in the most concise form. And in the circumstances Dr. Weber has done very well.

A century ago Arabia was practically a *terra incognita*. In 1810 inscriptions discovered in South Arabia were first made known to Europe. Others followed in the thirties and succeeding years. But the most important are those discovered and reported by Edward Glaser from 1882-94. These inscriptions reveal a country very different from what Arabia

was generally supposed to be. While the Semites sprung from Abraham were toiling in Egypt under Pharaoh's taskmasters, another branch of the Semitic family in South Arabia had established a powerful kingdom and reached a high degree of culture. This Minnæan kingdom, of which the capital was Karnâwu (Karna), was well organised. Its influence appears for a time to have been paramount throughout the Arabian peninsula. It was the centre of the commerce between Europe and the East. In the north-west, in the Biblical district of Midian, its colony of Mutsran played an important part in the commerce of the second millennium B.C. It has an interesting place in Biblical discussions at the close of the second millennium A.D.

The result of recent discoveries and discussions is that, for the present, Arabia is by many regarded as the cradle of the Semitic race. In the Minnæans we have the Semites at their purest and best. It is of some interest to note that the alphabetic characters employed in the Minnæan inscriptions closely resemble the Phœnician and old Hebrew characters. There are differences, and Dr. Weber conjectures that a common mother-alphabet lay behind them (p. 13). Noteworthy also are the points of contact with the Old Testament, especially in matters of ritual (*cf.* p. 17). A considerable amount of information is given regarding the religious practice of these ancient Arabians (pp. 15-21).

It is Dr. Weber's opinion that Arabian Semites crossed the Gulf to Chaldæa, and brought themselves into contact with the Sumerians as early as the fourth, or perhaps even the fifth millennium B.C. About the close of the third millennium B.C. Canaanites settled in Syria and Palestine, and the Hyksos in Egypt. At the beginning of the second millennium Semites from North Arabia pressed into Mesopotamia, and Aramæan nomads repeatedly invaded the rich country of Babylonia and Assyria. At the same time Phœnicians and Hebrews settled on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the Chaldæans asserted themselves in South Babylonia, and the Minnæans pushed their way southward in Arabia, and founded the kingdom already referred to. The predominance

of the Minnæans lasted from about B.C. 1400 to B.C. 700. Shortly before the latter date the Sabæan nomads were pushed southwards through the victorious progress of Tiglath-Pileser. These Sabæans encountered and overthrew the Minnæans, and for some 400 years were the ruling power in South Arabia. They extended their sway over the country to the south and east, over Katabania and Hadramaut. But Alexander came. Alexandria was founded. And the commercial position which had been occupied by Southern Arabia for many centuries was lost for ever. About B.C. 115 the Himyarites, a tribe whose home was in the extreme south-west of the Peninsula, overthrew the Sabæans, and introduced a new *regime* which lasted to A.D. 300.

At that time the Abyssinians, whose fathers had crossed from South Arabia to Africa, returned to the tribal home, and made themselves masters of the Government. These Abyssinians were largely Christians, and the Christian religion was in this way introduced into South Arabia. But dark days dawned for the Christians. After the destruction of Jerusalem a number of Jews made their way to South Arabia. Through the influence of a Jew whose name is given as Dhu Nuwas the Himyarites regained the ascendancy, and the Christians were subjected to cruel persecution. Thus things continued till in 525 the Abyssinians, through the support of Constantinople, regained power. This led the old anti-Christian nobility to invoke the aid of the Persians, who overthrew the Abyssinians in 575, and set up a government in Yemen, dependent on Persia. Fifty years later came the Moslems, who conquered the whole Peninsula, and led a movement from Arabia far surpassing in influence and extent any migration of former times.

Such is Dr. Weber's survey of the history of Arabia to the days of Mahomet. It is only now that the secrets of the land are being disclosed. It is to be hoped that what has been revealed is but the beginning.

Professor König's volume supplies a good example of critical controversy in the hands of a capable and reasonable

German scholar. Professor Hommel has claimed for Arabia certain place-names which, with general consent, were wont to be assigned to other lands. In certain quarters this view of the Munich Orientalist has not met with the favour which had been expected for it. Professor Hommel has indicated his dissatisfaction with the result, and in this connexion has mentioned the name of Professor König. This has brought the Bonn professor into the field, and he sets himself to discover the proper historical point of view for the settlement of the question in dispute. Everything depends on the attainment of the proper point of view. "Two men observing the same object will describe it diversely, according to the point of view from which either beholds it; in the eyes of one, it shall be a fair prospect, to the other a barren waste, and neither may see aright." Whether Professor König has succeeded remains to be seen. To some of his conclusions assent may, without much difficulty, be conceded. Others suggest doubts or raise questions. And it may be assumed that the end of the matter has not yet been reached.

The five place-names mentioned by Weber (assigned by him, as by Hommel, to Arabia), and discussed by König, are Ashur, Mutzran, 'Eber han-nahar, Kush, and Aribí (אִרְבִּי).

Ashur and Ashurim, in the Old Testament, have generally been assigned to the empire whose capital was Nineveh. But in Gen. xxv. 3, Ashurim (אַשּׁוּרִים) designate a tribe sprung from Jokshan, a son of Abraham by Keturah. And König agrees with Hommel that the home of this tribe was in North-West Arabia, bordering on Edom. But whereas the Bonn professor doubts whether this tribe is mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament (p. 9), Hommel holds that, in the passages discussed, not merely אַשּׁוּרִים, but שׁוּר and גִּשּׁוּר should be explained of the Semitic tribe referred to in Gen. xxv. 3.

The term מִצְרַיִם as found in the Old Testament has been with general consent referred to Egypt, the kingdom of the Pharaohs on the Nile. But the Arabian inscriptions referred to in the preceding article reveal a province of the ancient

Minnæan kingdom which lay along the north of the Elanitic Gulf, corresponding almost with the Biblical Midian. The name of this province was Mutzran; and the question is, whether in the passages discussed, the term מצרים should not be applied to this province in Northern Arabia, rather than to Egypt. Hommel says, yes, and König generally disagrees. This part of the discussion is interesting because it raises a question regarding the locality of the oppression of Israel prior to the Exodus. Was the country of the oppression not the Egypt of the Nile, but the Mutzran on the east of the Elanitic Gulf? In this connection Joel iv. 19 is of importance. In this passage מצרים is associated with אדום in an unjust assault on Judah. Whatever date may be assigned to Joel, the hostility of Edom is easily understood. But where, in the Old Testament, do we find a Mitzraim that could, on any probable view, be associated with Edom, as in this passage of Joel, unless it were the place of Israel's bondage prior to the Exodus under Moses? [On the question, whether Israel started on their journey to Canaan not from Egypt proper, but from such a district as Mutzran of the Minnæan inscriptions, *vid. Encycl. Bib.*, art. "Exodus," by Cheyne.] A third question is to determine the reference in the expression 'Eber han-nahar. In the Old Testament נהר, as a proper noun, is understood to apply to the Euphrates. To one stationed in Palestine 'Eber han-nahar would suggest a district to the east of that river. And König holds that Abraham was most probably designated the Hebrew (העברי) because he had emigrated to the western regions of Asia from Haran which lay to the east of the Euphrates. According to Hommel the expression arose in Babylonia at a time when Palestine was a province of Babylon; in other words, in the time of the Khammurabi dynasty, when Abraham, the Hebrew (ha-'Ibrî), migrated "from the other side of the river". The name is thus connected with the appearance of Abraham in Canaan. Hommel holds that in the Old Testament the expression 'Eber han-nahar is *nowhere* used of Mesopotamia, but always of the *western* bank of the Euphrates. (*Ancient Hebrew*

Tradition, etc., pp. 257-8, 324.) The *nahar* may be that of the Wādi Sirhān which flows to the east of the Arabian Ashur and Edom.

The fourth place is Kûsh, which, in a number of passages referred to, Hommel finds in Central Arabia; König supports the old view that Ethiopia to the south of Egypt is meant.

Perhaps the least probable of Hommel's conclusions discussed by König is that which concerns the kingdom of Aribi (the fifth place-name), to which Hommel finds a reference in Hos. v. 13, x. 6. In the cuneiform inscriptions references occur to a district—a kingdom, named Aribi—governed by queens, which was tributary to Assyria. This country, according to Hommel, bordered on Ashur-Edom. He thinks that it was a queen of this Aribi that visited Solomon (1 Kings x. 1): if so, this district would be the home of the Sabæans.

But how can the יִרְבֵּה of Hosea be identified with this North-Arabian Aribi? The orthographical difficulty is got over by an appeal to a practice among the Assyrians to omit an initial *yod* in a case of this kind: hence the Jareb of Hosea becomes the Aribi of the inscriptions. The objections to such an explanation of Hosea are serious. Apart from the question of orthography just referred to, Hos. v. 13 raises a grammatical difficulty, partly from the parallelism, and partly from the absence of the article with מֶלֶךְ. In Hos. x. 6 there is a more serious difficulty. The *Ashur* of the verse, according to Hommel, is the North-Arabian *Ashur*, and the *King Jareb* is the King of Aribi, bordering on Ashur. What is meant? To which country was the calf of Samaria to be brought as a trophy of conquest, a gift in honour of the conqueror? To Ashur? or to Aribi? König's criticism here is to the point. He holds it to be obvious that the expressions Ashur and Jareb do not represent two distinct countries, and that Ashur and Melekh Jareb indicate Assyria, and its great king (p. 65). There can scarcely be a doubt but that König is correct. Assyria proper was the great world-power when Hosea wrote. That power was threatening the northern kingdom with invasion and overthrow. In these circumstances, to explain the

prophet's words by an Ashur and Aribi in Arabia, whose existence as separate dominions at the time is doubtful, and of whose power (assuming their existence) to threaten Israel with overthrow we have no information, is to fly in the face of well-accredited history, and to render all but impossible an intelligent exposition of the words of a prophet who, more than most prophets, sought to save his country from an actually impending doom.

In the excursus on Paradise König declines to accept the site proposed by Hommel. The theory of the latter is that the first and second rivers (Pison and Gihon) refer to the Central Arabian Wādis, Er-rumma and Dawāsir, which are lost in the sands of the Arabian desert. The name of the third river, Hiddekel, generally regarded as the Tigris, Hommel explains as the Palm-Wādi [Arab. Khadd = Wādi, and diḳlah = palm]. This he identifies with the Wādi Sirhān which passes by the east of the North-Arabian Ashur. The fourth river is, of course, the Euphrates.

There are serious objections to this view. In the first place it is scarcely probable that the term Nahar (נָהָר), which is used in the Old Testament text, would be applied to Wādis which disappear in the wilderness. Nahal (נַחַל) would be expected, in accordance with the usage. (Of course it is possible that these Wādis were originally streams, worthy of the name נָהָר: but a conjecture of that kind does not furnish a proper basis for an important conclusion.) But in the second place there is a geographical objection of greater importance. According to Gen. ii. 8 the garden was planted *eastward* (מִקְדָּם) in Eden. It may be presumed that the Hebrews took their Paradise tradition with them when they left Ur of the Chaldees, and we should expect the site of the garden to lie east of that place; in other words, east of the Euphrates. According to Hommel the Paradise-stream was the Shatt-El-Arab, and the four heads into which, according to the Old Testament narrative, the stream was parted, were four arms of the Shatt-El-Arab. If the expression *eastward* is used in its ordinary and natural sense,

the site of Paradise should be looked for on the east side of the Euphrates. But, according to Hommel, the districts mentioned in connexion with Paradise all lay to the west of the Euphrates, and are found in Arabia. Havilah is North-Eastern Arabia, the hinterland of Bahrein. Ashur is in the north-west of Arabia, bordering on Edom. Kush is in Central Arabia. Hommel's answer to the question "Where lay Paradise?" cannot be said to be made good. König is justified in looking for the site on the east of the Euphrates. But the Bonn professor looks northwards as well as eastwards. In Gen. xxix. 1 we read that Jacob, when he left Bethel, journeyed to the land of the people of the East (בְּנֵי-קֶדֶם). His road lay to the north-east. And König follows his example, and searches for the site of Paradise in the still little known region in which lie the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with which the early history of the race is closely associated (*cf.* the narrative of the flood), and from which the Aramæans, according to Amos (ix. 7), started on their special mission among the nations. In that same district, in all probability, according to Hebrew tradition, stood the mountain of God to which Isaiah refers (Isa. xiv. 13 f.). To the Hebrews, accepting such a tradition, a more probable site could not easily be suggested for that garden which God planted for the race at the beginning.

So much at present, more may be said in the future. The reader must turn to Professor König's little volume for the details of his argument. One passage may be referred to in order to show the importance of the point of view which he sets himself to determine for us. Numbers xxiv. 22 is an important verse, and supplies a good example of the kind of discussion which has now to be faced. The words, as in the R.V., run thus: "Nevertheless Kain [*m.* the Kenites] shall be wasted, until [*m.* how long?] Ashur shall carry thee away captive". Hommel speaks of this and the following verses as the most noteworthy of all the passages in the Old Testament, which contain a reference to the ancient Ashur in South Palestine.¹ König says *No*. He holds that a

¹ *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, etc., Eng. Trans., p. 245.

conquering power is referred to which may be expected, sooner or later, to overcome the Kenites, and annex their territories. Such a power he holds to be the Assyrian proper, and in support of his view he refers to the words of verse 23: "Alas, who shall live when God doeth this [m. establisheth him]?" These words König explains in connexion with 2 Kings xviii. 25, where the King of Assyria claims that he was sent against Jerusalem by Jehovah (*cf.* Isa. x. 5, ff.). The question of the point of view at once arises. If the historical point of view is that of the days of Isaiah, König's argument is good. At that time the Assyrians of the Tigris were in the field and were recognised as the great world-power of the day. And if a prophetic utterance in which Ashur was depicted as a conquering power claimed the attention of Isaiah or his contemporaries, the Ashur, whose capital was Nineveh, and which filled the prophetic horizon of the time, would naturally be thought of. The Balaam prophecy of Num. xxiv. belongs to JE, the earliest of the critics' documents, which appeared not long before Isaiah's day. But Hommel's point of view is that of the Exodus period. "This whole prophecy," he says, "owes all its significance to the fact that it was delivered in the Mosaic period."¹ And the question is—Was Assyria proper known to Moses and his contemporaries as a conquering power, which would one day swallow up the Kenites? If not, and if Ashur must still be the Ashur of the Tigris, have we in Num. xxiv. a piece of prediction pure and simple, without a historical basis in the circumstances and knowledge of Israel at the time?

GEO. G. CAMERON.

¹ *Ancient Hebrew Tradition, etc.*, Eng. Trans., p. 248.

Notices.

WE have also to notice a new and revised edition, the fifth, of Dr. G. Vance Smith's volume on *The Bible and its Theology*,¹ dealing with the Scriptures, Christian doctrine, the Person and the Work of Christ, and the popular Christian belief, from the standpoint of free criticism and Unitarian theology, in the same way as in the earlier editions, but bringing the discussions of these great questions up to date so as to grapple not only with the positions of writers like Dr. Dale and Canon Liddon, but with those also of the writers of *Lux Mundi* and others; *The Ground of Faith*,² by the Rev. R. S. Mylne, M.A., B.C.L., a series of five sermons preached in the Cathedral Church of Bangor, on the great topics of the Word of God, the Cross of Christ, Divine Worship, the Primitive Church and the Faith of Christ, simple and direct in style, and giving devout and emphatic expression to the supreme importance of faith and the great verities with which it is conversant; a brief monograph on Pascal's views of knowledge and faith, *Wissen und Glauben bei Pascal*,³ by Dr. Kurt Wurmuth, giving a characterisation of Pascal, first as the mathematician and then as the Jansenist, and furnishing a good statement and analysis of the main points in his theory of the relations of knowledge and truth, his conceptions of God, Christ, original sin, etc.; *Das menschliche Personenleben und der christliche Glaube nach Paulus*,⁴ by Dr. Alexander Röhrich of Bonn, an examination of the Pauline teaching of man's nature, sin, the Person of Christ, the Spirit, baptism, faith, regeneration, good

¹ London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 331. Price 3s. 6d. net.

² London: Elliot Stock, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 90. Price 2s. 6d. net.

³ Berlin: Reimer, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii. + 56. Price M.1.50.

⁴ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 155. Price 2s. 6d. net.

works, the final appearing of Christ, the hope of the end, etc., carefully done, and of undoubted value, but in the case of many of the discussions too brief to admit of very adequate treatment; a new edition of the first volume of the late Professor Wilhelm Moeller's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*,¹ a book which most students of Church history, and especially teachers of it, have learned to value greatly and which ought to prove more acceptable and useful even than it has been, revised as it is and carefully brought up to date by Professor Hans von Schubert of Kiel; a brief, appreciative, interesting sketch of *Lord Shaftesbury, Peer and Philanthropist*,² by R. Ed. Pengelly; two stories by Florence Witts, *The Sisters of Trenton Manse*,³ and *In the Day of His Power*,⁴ both written in a bright, attractive style, elevating and instructive; the twenty-third volume of *Young England*,⁵ an annual which has had a long and prosperous career and which continues to be so admirably conducted as to ensure for it a wide welcome among our youth; *The Girls' Empire*,⁶ an annual intended for English-speaking girls all over the world, one which we can cordially recommend as eminently suited to interest and instruct those whose intellectual profit it has specially in view; *Joseph and Moses, the Founders of Israel*,⁷ a new volume by the author of *How to read the Prophets*, expounding those parts of the book of Genesis which are held to be essentially prophetic, and setting forth the prophetic teaching in those parts—a book well and care-

¹ Dritte (Schluss-) Abtheilung. Zweite Auflage. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. 8vo, pp. xx. + 465-842. Price 8s. net.

² London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 128. Price 1s.

³ London: The Sunday School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 159. Price 1s. 6d.

⁴ London: The Sabbath School Union. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 143. Price 1s.

⁵ London: The Sunday School Union. Pp. iv. + 494. Price 5s.

⁶ London: Andrew Melrose. Pp. iv. + 480. Price 5s.

⁷ Being their lives as read in the light of the oldest Prophetic writings of the Bible. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 265. Price 4s.

fully written, reproducing in a clear and telling way the narratives of Judah and Israel in their proper historical setting and their spiritual significance; the second volume of *Boys of our Empire*,¹ a magazine very ably conducted by Howard H. Spicer, richly illustrated, full of varied, useful and entertaining matter and deservedly popular among boys throughout the English-speaking world; a pamphlet by the Rev. George W. Sprott, North Berwick, entitled *The Doctrine of Schism in the Church of Scotland*,² being the Macleod Memorial Lecture for 1902, in which some interesting historical particulars are given, while the principle of the Church's unity and the differences of certain eminent divines in Scotland and on the Continent are applied in a way which would leave little or no liberty of action in critical times beyond mere protest; *Through Roman Spectacles*,³ an instructive volume by J. Alexander Clapperton, M.A., consisting mainly of articles reprinted from the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, in which under the headings of the "Soldier," the "Father," "Money," "Woman," the "Empire," the "Slave," the "Roman Boy," etc., important points in ancient Latin law and custom are explained and applied to the illustration of the New Testament.

There are some notable articles in the October issue of *Mind*. Particular attention will be drawn to the opening paper by Mr. F. H. Bradley on "The Definition of Will"—the first of a series of three which have it as their object to explain and defend the definition of will given on former occasions by the writer. The discussion keeps within the region of empirical psychology, and deals with the will which is "known and experienced as such". A volition is described as "the self-realisation of an idea with which the self is identified," and "in psychology there is in the end no will except in the sense of volition". The use of the phrase "a standing will" is admitted to be legitimate in the sense in which we speak of a "standing belief" or "a

¹ London: Andrew Melrose. Pp. 836. Price 7s. 6d.

² Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Pp. 65.

³ London: C. H. Kelly, 1902. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 155. Price 1s. 6d.

permanent attention" "where for the moment we are not supposed to be actually attending". But it is affirmed that in the proper sense there is "no actual will except in volitions". Thus "will is action outward or inward, but on the other hand not every action is really will". In these articles Mr. Bradley is to endeavour to remove certain mistakes in the hope of recommending his view of will as one that is sustained by the overwhelming testimony of language and experience. Among the minor papers there is an interesting discussion of the "Notion of Order," by E. T. Dixon.

The *International Journal of Ethics* for October opens with a paper of a popular order on "Criticism of Public Men," by Waldo L. Cook, of Springfield, Mass. There is also a paper of more general interest on "The Pampered Children of the Poor," by Ida M. Metcalf. Mr. A. J. Taylor, of Owens College, Manchester, contributes a very readable and suggestive article on "Mind and Nature," which deals with the notion of "unperceived material existence," and vindicates the application of the categories of personal and social life to the realm of physical nature. The whole question is considered from the standpoint of everyday thought, not from that of ultimate metaphysical issues, and the conclusion is that we have "reason to regard the world of physical nature itself as composed of beings of an intelligent and purposive kind, and thus far akin to our own inner life". There is an acute discussion also of the ethics of Nietzsche and Guyan by Alfred Fouillée.

In the fourth part of the third volume of the ably conducted Danish Journal, *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, we notice good articles by A. G. S. Prior, on "the Epistle to the Romans" (its integrity, etc.), and Ch. Nielsen on 1 Cor. xv. 29 ("baptised for the dead").

The third issue of the *Revue Néo-Scholastique* for the year contains good papers by G. Simons on "Le principe de raison suffisante en Logique et en Métaphysique"; L. Noël on "La Philosophie de la Contingence"; G. R. Woad on "The Philosophy of Professor Grote of Cambridge," etc.

The *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, v. 3, is rich in matter relating to the history and literature of religions, W. Geiger writing on "Buddhistische Kunstmythologie"; Ed. Lehmann on "The Later Avesta"; Bruno Meissner on "Babylonische Bestandtheile in modernen Sagen und Gebräuchen," etc.

In the *Methodist Review* for Sept.-Oct., the "Theology of Horace Bushnell" is expounded by Professor G. B. Stevens of Yale, who takes his special contribution to religious thought to have been chiefly in these four points: his theory of church life, his theory of theological knowledge, his idea of the supernatural, and his ethical interpretation of the Atonement. Professor König of Bonn, in an article with the title "Was the Religion in Abraham's Native Country Monotheistic?" meets the arguments of F. Hommel, Friedrich Delitzsch, and W. F. Warren in support of the position that Abraham brought monotheism with him from his native country and that the monotheism of the Old Testament was borrowed from the Babylonian religion. He recognises how President Warren's position differs in method and in aim from that of the others, but regards it as equally inadequate. President Warren gives a brief reply, reaffirming his view that the ineffable Hebrew name *Jahve* was developed from a shorter divine name found among the Babylonians.

The October number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* opens with a criticism of "Contentio Veritatis," by Professor Sanday, in which special attention is given to the essays of Messrs. Rashdall and Inge, while the inadequacies and overstatements in Mr. Allen's paper on "Modern Criticism and the New Testament" are pointed out with a firm though considerate hand. Dr. Barnes contributes a "Study of the First Lesson for Christmas Day" (Isaiah ix. 1-7); Dr. Strong continues his elaborate "History of the Theological Term 'Substance'"; and under the title of "Psychology and Religion," Mr. C. C. J. Bebb gives an able criticism of Professor James's "The Varieties of Religious Experience," very favourable and appreciative on the whole. The smaller papers are also of interest, e.g., one by Mr. F. C. Burkitt, on the "Interpretation of 'Bar-Jesus,'" also one by Dr. C.

Taylor on "The Pericope of the Adulteress" (John vii. 53-viii. 11), calling attention (after Professor Nestle) to a parallel in the earlier *Didascalia* and pointing to certain things which appear to indicate that the Pericope was known to the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

The current issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* begins with a readable but rather slight paper on "Religion in Oxford," which is followed by an able article on "Lamarck, Darwin and Weismann". The elaborate papers on "The Holy Eucharist" and "Missions to Hindus" are continued, the historical inquiry in the case of the former being brought down to the death of Edward VI. in 1553, and bringing out the fact that at that period "those who were prominent and held high office in the Church of England had ceased to believe that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ, and that in the Eucharist there is a sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood". Among other papers we notice one on "Education and Religious Liberty," in which the Education Bill is again discussed, but without any proper appreciation of the principles at the foundation of the determined opposition to it. Perhaps the best contribution to the number is the article on "Criticism, Rational and Irrational," which deals with the *Dictionary of the Bible*, the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and says some plain things about the fanciful and unscientific character of much of the work of Canon Cheyne, Professor Schmiedel and their associates.

The *Hibbert Journal*, which is projected as a Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy, and is published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate under the editorial care of Messrs. L. P. Jacks and G. Dawes Hicks, starts on its career with a number which contains several articles of mark, and in its general contents answers well to the idea of the enterprise. The reviews of books, of which there is a fair selection, are done with much care, and are really informing. The article that will probably be felt by most readers to be most attractive is one by Dr. Stopford Brooke on "Matthew Arnold, a poet of fifty years ago," in

which much is admirably well said of the respects in which Arnold was unfortunate in the time when he began to be a poet, the Stoic elements in his poetry, the note of sadness for himself and for the world that broke down his Stoicism, the way in which he dealt with the problem of life, etc. The most profound and searching paper is contributed by Professor Royce of Harvard on "The Concept of the Infinite". The concluding article is also one of great interest. It takes the form of a symposium on "Catastrophes and Moral Order," the writers being Professor G. H. Howison, the Rev. R. A. Armstrong, and the Rev. Dr. R. F. Horton. The first of these writers takes refuge in a new idealism which would refer Nature and all its woes derivatively to minds, but would present these "as the minds other than God". The second looks to the spiritual experience of the individual man as the main trust of Theism in face of all mysteries of pain and evil. The third thinks we have the solution in our own hands, inasmuch as we can triumph over them in mind and transform them. As to the other articles, the opening one on "The Basis of Christian Doctrine," by Professor Percy Gardner, is essentially a development of the principle that there is no enduring foundation for doctrinal construction except observation and experience. The discussion is marred by an occasional lack of precision in the use of terms. Professor Gardner uses the term *Soteriology*, e.g., but means by that the doctrine of man. Sir Oliver Lodge's article on "The Outstanding Controversy between Science and Faith," brings us only to the conclusion that there can be no complete reconciliation between science and faith until the opposite answers given by orthodox modern science on the one hand, and religion of all times on the other, to the question whether we live in a universe permeated with life and mind, are made consistent. Mr. F. C. Conybeare attempts to prove, as against Westcott and Hort, that there *were* "Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Gospels": the instances which he adduces being Matt. i. 16, xxviii. 19; Matt. xix. 17 = Mark x. 18 = Luke xviii. 19. The argument is not likely to convince many. It proceeds all through on a depreciation

of the best testimony within our reach, *viz.*, the oldest MSS. and on the theory that we have better witnesses in the versions even when the manuscripts in which we possess them differ widely among themselves, and in Patristic quotations even though the texts of most of the Fathers are admitted to be in many cases uncertain. Some strange assertions are made, *e.g.*, that we "have no codex older than the year 400, if so old". There are minor inaccuracies in Mr. Conybeare's article which surprise one. The well-known discoverer of the Sinaitic Syriac codex appears as Mrs. Lewes. The verb to *mean* gets the form "meaned" as its past. Principal James Drummond begins an able and careful examination of the use of the phrase "Righteousness of God" in St. Paul's epistles. The type and printing of the new Journal are delightful.

The current number of the *American Journal of Theology* opens with an article by F. B. Jevons of Durham on "The Fundamental Principles of the Science of Religion," which makes rather stiff reading. Professor G. B. Stevens, of Yale, follows with a paper on the question, "Is there a self-consistent New Testament Eschatology?" which is dealt with in an interesting, scholarly and discriminating way, although the difficulty of bringing the various statements into harmony is perhaps made greater than it is. In the varied and instructive matter that makes up the rest of the number we notice specially an article by Professor Karl Budde on "The Old Testament and the Excavations". It is vigorously written and deserves attentive reading. Many things are excellently well put in it, and it recalls critics to a sense of the reasonable, the patient and the restrained in their investigations and still more in their publications. The faults of the new edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Old Testament*, for which Winckler is responsible, are very plainly stated, and in this Professor Budde does a real service to science.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

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